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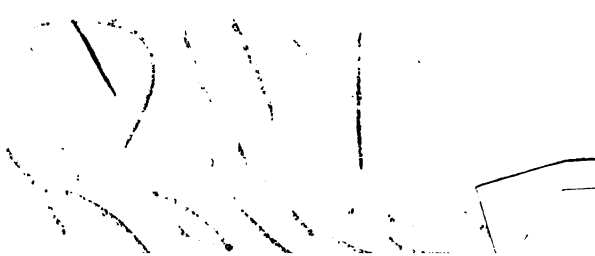

FRANCE,

SINCE

1830.

BY

THOMAS RAIKES, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

"A VISIT TO ST. PETERSBURG."

IN TWO VOLUMES,

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RAH

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INTRODUCTION.

A manuscript composed two years ago for the amusement of my leisure hours, of which the publication has since been unavoidably postponed, is now at length committed to the press.

Whatever little interest its contents might then have possessed, in relation to an event, which was perhaps too recent to form a part of history, and too far gone by to claim attention as a narrative of the day, it has been so completely superseded by the events which during the last six months have taken place in France, that if this manuscript see the light, it can only be, when prefaced by some relation of these more stirring transactions.

It is during this latter interval that the Revolution of July, or to speak less figuratively, the throne of July has assumed a new position in the face of Europe.

The events which have contributed to this important crisis, may be traced back as far as January 1839, when M. Molè and his colleagues, dissatisfied with the opposition formed in the Chamber of Deputies, against their amendment to the radical address, proposed by M. M. Dupin, Guizot, and Thiers, went to the King, and gave in their resignations on the 22nd of that month. This defeat of M. Molè's Cabinet was entirely accomplished by that unnatural coalition formed under the auspices of M. Berryer, when the *extrême droite* voted with the *extrême gauche*, or in other words, the ultra Carlist party with the ultra liberal or republican section of the Chamber.

It was an alliance between the most discordant and heterogeneous principles; a league between the two most bitter and inveterate enemies; each hating the other; each intent on the other's destruction; but both rushing blindly towards one common point, from whence each expected to derive fruits of a diametrically opposite nature. The one party

seeking in revolution the destruction of royalty, while the other anticipated from the same source the revival of the old Monarchy. But melancholy to relate, such is the state of party spirit in France, that neither side paused to contemplate the seas of blood, which must flow to accomplish their headstrong wishes. The Republicans had at least the merit of consistency; sedition and revolution were their daily bread; but the Carlist party, who turned renegadoes to co-operate with their enemies, coupled with the abjuration of their former principles, a positive act of folly; because it was evident that in the event of success, they themselves must become the primary victims of their own devices.

In compliance with the Royal wish, M. Molè made one last effort to retain his seat, by dissolving the Chamber; but the Thiers party had now gained such a decided advantage by the junction of their new auxiliaries, that after a short struggle he yielded to the storm, and finally resigned on the 10th of February in that year.

M. Thiers, since his last ejection from the Ministry, in August 1836, (because he insisted on an encrease of the auxiliary legion in Spain, the motive for which has never been very satis-

factorily explained,) had rendered himself an object of personal dislike to the King; and now found his return to power incompatible with the feelings of that Monarch.

Endowed with great abilities, and insinuating manners, his vanity is even more inordinate than his ambition; he is too rash to be cunning; too presumptuous to be servile; and too sanguine of success to employ subterfuge; with all this a recklessness of spirit which will prompt him where his own interests are at stake, to sacrifice every earthly consideration in order to gain his point. But M. Thiers is eminently deficient in knowledge of the world; he yields to the impulse of pique and resentment like a schoolboy; and as he neither possesses the *sang froid*, or the judgment of a real statesman, he is prone to indulge at times either in sarcastic or menacing expressions towards his master.

The breach between these two individuals, whose characters and objects are precisely the reverse of each other, had been gradually widened by constant irritation, till it reached the point of a deep seated mutual antipathy.

Notwithstanding the force of events, which for the last ten years has so frequently driven the Monarch and the subject into the closest

connection; notwithstanding the apparent cordiality which each has affected to display towards the other, during that connection; the hate, though dissembled, has never ceased to exist, and has always been more and more embittered at every fresh separation.

Disappointed in his hopes of place, M. Thiers had still sufficient influence to *brouiller les cartes*, and create such political dissensions, that the King found it impossible to form a new administration. In order that the public business might not be impeded, a provisional ministry was formed, with M. Gasparin at the head; and as neither the doctrinaires or the Thiers party were included in this arrangement, it not only gave general dissatisfaction, but when to the original term of *provisoire*, the *mauvais plaisants* added the epithets of *illusoire*, and *derisoire* its short lived duration was readily anticipated.

In France the dart of ridicule is always fatal. Under these auspices the new Chamber met on the 4th of April; and it is here worthy to remark that the discomfiture of M. Thiers was as usual attended with a popular movement. Crowds of suspicious looking characters were assembled about the bridge, and the doors of the assembly; but numerous bodies

of troops were on duty and maintained public order. On this night and the following, attempts were made to rob the gunsmiths' shops, and create further disorders; but the police was active, and aided by the military, succeeded in repressing the tumult.

The consolidation of a regular ministry in France was at length accomplished; two days after, the Whig Government in England ejected by a majority of the House of Commons on the Jamaica question, were reinstated in their places by the more powerful influence of the ladies of the bed-chamber to the Queen.

On the 12th of May the aspiring hopes of M. Thiers were finally crushed; a new ministry was announced to replace the provisional Cabinet, in which Marshal Soult was named President of the Council, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the complete exclusion of his ambitious rival.

On the following day, extraordinary tumults broke out in the quarter of St. Denis and Montmartre; the origin of which no one was able to understand, the mob had been previously organized, and seemed to have taken unusual precautions. They again broke into the armourers' shops, and attacked the troops at their posts, committing great slaughter;

the national guard and the line behaved with much courage and coolness, but many lives were lost on both sides. On the 14th the fighting was still continued in the streets, large bodies of troops were brought in from the neighbourhood: and the rebellion at last was completely put down; numerous prisoners were made, amongst whom was the notable Barbey; all of whom were afterwards tried before the Court of Peers, and condemned to different terms of imprisonment. A new mortification was still in store for M. Thiers; on the 15th, he lost the Presidence of the Chamber by a majority of seven in favor of M. Sausset, which as the influence of the crown was evidently opposed to him only tended to embitter all his previous feeling of resentment against the author.

He is said indeed not to have been very discreet in restraining his expressions of indignation on this occasion. The journal *la France* quotes an observation of one of his intimate friends, to whom M. Thiers boasting of his power, remarked, "*Je mettrai la couronne à mes pieds.*" His friend replied, "*J'aimerais mieux la voir à vos pieds que sur votre tête.*"

In no country is the duration of a ministry so precarious as in France; jealousy, party

spirit, and jarring interests soon bring the mortifying conviction home to every minister, that he cannot long pretend to carry on the public business, when he is met at every step by so many insurmountable difficulties. Affairs may go on smoothly for a short period, but it rarely fails to happen, that a powerful opposition, bent on circumscribing the power of the throne, will find the opportunity of defeating a minister on some Cabinet question, which involves his political existence.

Such was the case with the Soult administration; after a short career of nine months, they were compelled to bring forward the ill judged motion of a dotation to the Duke de Nemours of 500,000f. per ann, on the occasion of his marriage, which the Chamber of Deputies rejected by a majority of 26, and Marshal Soult with his colleagues immediately resigned.

This manly conduct formed a striking contrast at the moment to that of the British Cabinet, who by a singular coincidence had only a fortnight before been outvoted on their proposed allowance for Prince Albert; and nearly on the same day were beat by a majority of 10 on their own Finance Question, but still clung resolutely to their places.

In this embarrassing position the King sent

at once to the Duc de Broglie, in the hope of forming a new administration; but the attempt proved abortive. A report has always been current in the world, that during a late melancholy event, which deprived society of one of its brightest ornaments, the Duke had given a solemn promise never again to take a part in the government of France, but whether this may be true or not, the result of his interview with the King was such as to offer no remedy for the existing difficulties; and H. M. was compelled, however repugnant it might be to his own feelings and principles, to have recourse again to M. Thiers.

The haughty manner in which these advances were at first received is too well known; M. Thiers considered himself, not as invited by the Crown, but as a necessity imposed upon it. He affected to lay down stipulations for the future; political conditions, on which alone he would condescend to accept office; and when from the absence of all competition, he found no further opposition possible from the Crown, he proceeded to form a Cabinet, of which he became himself President of the Council, and Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was under these circumstances that on the 1st of March 1840, M. Thiers commenced an administration,

which has proved more menacing to the peace of Europe, and more detrimental to the best interests of France, than any government which has ever existed in this country since the year 1815.

Puffed up with his triumph, and confident of success, the new Minister at first set all opposition at defiance; but ere a fortnight had elapsed, the voting in the bureaux became of such a doubtful character, that even his tenure of place was considered precarious.

The motion for the secret service money on the 24th, was doomed to be his severest trial: the exposè of M. Thiers was considered a weak production; and his evident attempts to cajole the Deputies into submission, only served to show still more the tottering state of his position. On the morning of the division, so late even as one o'clock, the success of M. Thiers still appeared to be doubtful; and the apprehensions at the Tuilleries then became more alarming. The King felt that only two alternatives were placed before him if M. Thiers could not maintain his post—M. Molè and riots; or Odillon Barrot and revolution. All sense of dislike to the individual was lost in a conviction of the dangers, which might arise from his discomfiture; the whole influence of

the Crown was instantly set at work to support the ministerial question, and so successful were the means employed, that to the utter surprise of the whole Chamber an overwhelming majority was proclaimed of 103, for the rejection of the amendment, and 86 in favor of the original motion. Thus was M. Thiers firmly reinstated in his place by the very power which had viewed his accession with alarm and disgust; and the first return which he made for this important assistance, was to employ all his eloquence in a speech of the most violent revolutionary tendency,* which gave a shock to the Royal nerves, and certainly did not tend to diminish the original antipathy felt for his minister.

The next step proposed to the King by M. Thiers was the removal of Napoleon's body from its distant, but romantic abode at St. Helena, to a triumphant sepulchre in Paris. His Majesty it is said was at first very much averse to the proposal; he wisely saw in it a great and unnecessary source of excitement among the people, of which the revolutionary party would not fail to take advantage, in order

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* See the debates, Friday, April 24th.

to create disturbance and insurrection: on the other hand M. Thiers, unmoved by these considerations, who flattered himself that he held in his hand the wand of Prospero, and had power to lay the storm with the same facility that he was able to raise it, impressed on the mind of his master the necessity of seizing this opportunity to conciliate public feeling, and associate his name with the memory of the illustrious dead. The resistance it is said was stout, in proportion to the apprehensions excited; but the Minister remained firm to his purpose, and when the Monarch was forced into his last entrenchments, he with his usual address turned round, and making a merit of necessity, declared that he would not only adopt the project, but would send his son to command the naval expedition destined to convey the remains of Napoleon to the shores of France.

On the 11th of May the Minister of the Interior announced to the Chamber of Deputies, that the English Government had readily given permission for the removal of the body from St. Helena; and a vote of 1,000,000f. was granted for the expences attendant on this ceremony, with great unanimity; all the Deputies in the height of their enthusiasm embraced each other

and expressed the greatest joy; at that moment if twenty millions had been asked, twenty millions would have been readily granted. Scarcely had one short fortnight elapsed, when the committee appointed to regulate the details of this ceremony, finding the sum voted not sufficient for the expence of the voyage, the funeral, and the monument, returned to the Chamber, and demanded another million, as well as the erection of an Equestrian Statue in some public part of the town. But the honorable deputies had now had time to grow cool; the spirit of economy and calculation had revived: and they not only rejected by a large majority both these requests, but also launched out into discontented allusions to their great man, whom they then accused, perhaps with some justice, of having always preferred glory to liberty.

On Saturday 16th of May, M. Thiers, in the name of the Cabinet over which he presided, made an absolute declaration against all reform; he said that he acknowledged no national sovereignty but that of the King, and the two Chambers; and upon this principle he would hear of no alteration in the law of elections. Why did not M. Thiers discover this fine theory when he was editor of the National

under the restoration ? but, as it has since been remarked on a late occasion in the Journal des Debats, *autres tems, autres mœurs,* so it must be inferred that a Minister of State is not obliged to retain the same principles and language as he did when an obscure journalist.

M. Thiers soon after his accession to power made, with his usual eloquence, a speech in the Chamber, which was highly flattering to the English Alliance; he expressed the strongest wish to cultivate that connection, which has since become the more remarkable, because so short a time elapsed before these sentiments were doomed to undergo a diametrically opposite bias.

This English Alliance, which had been the mainstay of M. de Talleyrand's policy, had in the first instance been warmly cultivated by France, because it really served to pilot her through all the shoals and rocks of her second revolution; it maintained peace in Europe whilst all the Northern powers were willing to attack her; and it gave her time to recover from a shock, which had paralised her faculties and disunited her whole population.

It is no longer a question how far England acted for her own private advantage by encouraging these overtures from revolutionary

France; it was clear that she could gain nothing; her objects were of a higher order, the Duke of Wellington in recognizing Louis Philippe, and Earl Grey in cementing more strongly that union, were solely governed by a disinterested wish to preserve the peace of Europe. In proportion as the throne of July was exposed to internal difficulties, the task of her pacific supporters became more arduous and painful; every day some concession was asked or some relaxation from that strict line of watchfulness, which nations in self defence must keep upon each other, simply and solely under the plea, that France was in a state of insubordination; that certain *boutades* must be overlooked, certain national caprices gratified, or else the whole machinery of government would be overturned, and the great work of peace, which all the world was labouring to preserve, would in one luckless moment yield to the pressure of anarchy and confusion.

Such was the state of affairs during the long interval occupied by the tedious and sickening Belgian Question; when Louis Philippe, by the general, though unwilling consent, was permitted to march in and march out of that distracted country, whenever the Dutch thought proper to attack their enemy Leopold;

not because he had any right to interfere in the cause of his neighbour, but because his own people would have interfered of their own accord, if he had not. Russia, placed at a more distant point, could only look on with anger and despite at the permitted tyranny exercised over her near relations; but from that hour may be dated the open, unquenchable hatred which Nicholas has since felt to the throne of July; and the secret, festering irritation against the Anglo French allianee.

When the French government became at length more firmly established, the English alliance, though no longer of the same vital importance, was still preserved with the same appearance of frankness and cordiality; jealousies however could not fail to arise, and the truth of the fable, which represents two men riding on the same horse, where one must inevitably sit before and the other behind, became now to be verified.

That useless parchment, named the Quadruple treaty, was meant to unite the efforts of the two countries in settling the affairs of Spain; but each had different views, each acted upon its own peculiar impulse, and the result was, that while the general object failed, each became dissatisfied with the other; reci-

procal complaints were made; and the links of this famous alliance now began to lose their original strength.

The blockades in the South American seas, by France, next became a subject of secret grievance between these two powers; it was an underhand attack upon English commerce; private individuals sent home complaints of losses sustained, and speculations frustrated by these unexpected hostilities waged against friendly ports. A pilot was forcibly taken out of an English vessel by a French ship of war, and though the matter was afterwards satisfactorily explained, it caused a momentary irritation; but in the case of Captain Driver, an open insult was offered to the British flag, which, however it might have risen out of some individual quarrel, exhibited a latent feeling of national ill will, on the part of France, so much the more bitter to endure, because no reparation was ever offered on one side, or demanded on the other.

There is no point on which England is and ought to be more sensitive than in her naval honor; it is her only bulwark; and the shield of her commerce; France is equally alive to her military glory; and as the two nations

possess each a superiority on their peculiar element, it is not too much to expect, that each should be cautious in respecting the feelings and dignity of the other.

Notwithstanding the communication between the two countries had, since the promotion of this alliance, arrived at an unparallelled degree of intimacy; the old feuds and jealousies between the seafaring population on their opposite shores had always remained, and were constantly breaking out with encreased acrimony on that source of contention the oyster beds, and fishing grounds, in what is called the British Channel; and it is well known that Admiral Dupure, when Minister of the Marine, did not always interfere in these differences with that spirit of impartiality and justice, which ought to characterise the proceedings of a friendly nation. In the Chamber of Peers, that hotbed of the ultra Carlist party, the English alliance was a constant theme of vituperation; it was publicly denounced as a sign of the prostration of France, and though it would have been difficult to enumerate any one positive benefit that England had as yet derived from the connection, these noble speakers did not hesitate to assert that it was

baneful to the interests of their country, while all the advantage was reaped by her more designing neighbour.

These allusions are not made with a view to retrace past grievances, but merely to show that this intimate alliance had been gradually on the wane, and that if untoward events have lately brought it to rather a rough conclusion, preparatory circumstances have not been wanting to prove, that France herself had become at least very indifferent as to the term of its continuation.

But there was a great and distant power, whose wily diplomacy is never at fault; who seated afar on the extreme verge of Europe looks down on one half of the habitable globe, as the gigantic chessboard, on which her views of continued aggrandisement are to be skilfully designed and accomplished. Long had this power secretly lamented the intimate alliance between France and England, which had already mortified her pride and frustrated her political plans on so many occasions:—well did she know that its duration must always prove an insuperable barrier to her ambition, and she hailed with delight every symptom of coolness and disaffection which threatened to operate a separation of views and interests

between the two most civilized nations in the world.

Late occurrences had proved that a spirit of jealousy and rivalry was gradually prevailing in that connection, which if adroitly fomented and encouraged by the artifices of a third party, might ultimately effect their decided estrangement. Animated with this hope, Russia observed with a latent satisfaction, that the march of affairs in the East was advancing with rapid steps towards that crisis, which would place at her disposal these elements of disunion in Europe. She held in her hands the treaty of Unskearkelessi; a treaty which has always been considered a source of blame to the policy of my Lord Palmerston; as ceding very important and questionable rights to Russian ambition: and has on this account been made a ground of very severe accusation both in and out of parliament against his Lordship's foresight and sagacity. It also involved a humiliating exclusion (with his consent) of every species of English armed vessel from the Black Sea, which was enforced with so much rigour, that in September 1835, when Lord Durham arrived in the Barham frigate at Constantinople, on his embassy to St. Petersburg; he was compelled to tranship himself

and suite for Odessa, on board the Pluto steamer, which not being permitted to have *a single gun on board,* was unable to return the salute of the Russian frigate anchored at Buynkdere. This too at a moment when the whig government had pompously announced, that the mission of Lord Durham, (en passant) to the Sultan, would completely counterbalance all the Russian influence with the Porte.

With this treaty then in her hand, Russia at once made a formal representation to the British Cabinet, that the moment was now arrived when the contingencies foreseen in that document, gave her an undoubted claim to interfere by arms in the protection of the Sultan's rights, and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, alarmingly menaced by the successful encroachments of a rebellious vassal.

Mehemet Ali proud in his strength, and unmindful of his allegiance, had taken forcible possession of Syria, and the strong fortress of St. Jean d'Acre; he had gained a decisive victory over the Sultan's troops at Nizib, when his son Ibrahim was only deterred by European intervention from marching directly on Constantinople; and he had moreover availed

himself of an act of treachery, to obtain possession of the Turkish fleet, which in defiance of his duty and even of the laws of justice he still retained captive in the port of Alexandria. These hostile excesses which openly threatened the extinction of the Turkish power; a catastrophe much to be dreaded by all Europe; could only be stemmed and repressed by the active intervention of Russia, the nearest ally of the Porte, bound by treaties to protect her, and provided with ample means to effect that object at the shortest notice.

This portentous warning created a most intense agitation in Downing Street; remonstrances were made on the suddenness of the decision; and the tremendous consequences which might arise in Europe from an immediate realization of that long dreaded phantom, which ever since the time of Catherine had haunted the brains, and perplexed the projects of every European statesman, an armed occupation of Constantinople by Russia.

If the fears which had been excited by this denunciation weighed heavily on the mind of my Lord Palmerston, conscious that he was bound as a consenting party by his own act and deed, to tolerate this eventful resolution of the Emperor Nicholas; it was not without

feelings of the most agreeable surprise, that he saw his pacific remonstrances met in a spirit of calmness and moderation, which his later intercourse with the Russian Cabinet had certainly given him very little reason or claim to anticipate. The language of the Emperor was peculiarly mild and conciliating, he had no wish to press matters with undue haste or violence, much less to risk any hostile movement of his armies in a way to give umbrage to the other powers, or risk in any shape the continuance of peace in Europe. It was true that the Ottoman power must be protected; he also felt his right and power to effect that object. But that right and that power he was willing to concede at once to the great nations of Europe, if they would voluntarily and loyally join him in signing a treaty, by which they should all act in unison, and contribute their mutual aid and assistance to remove this bone of contention between them. It was stipulated that England, France, Austria, and Prussia, should be invited to join in a general league to settle the Eastern Question; in which case the treaty of Unskearkelessi, which had still another year to run, should forthwith become a dead letter. This circumstance of itself was sufficient to ensure Lord Palmerston's sanction; it relieved

him at once from all the obloquy incurred by his adhesion to that treaty, which like Banquo's ghost, had so long haunted his sleeping and waking hours. It is needless to say that he willingly acceded to this proposal; there are those, who still think that when the sequel of the drama is unfolded, he may be found to have blindly rushed from Scylla to Charybdis.

No objection was made on the part of Prussia to sign the treaty of July; family connections and long intimacy with Prussia disposed her readily to meet the views of that power; particularly in a measure which seemed calculated to ensure the Peace of Europe, as all were to be equally interested in the execution of it. Moreover should any unpleasant consequences hereafter arise during the completion, her states were so distant from the scene of action, and a maritime warfare was so little calculated to demand her interference, that she could not hesitate to embark in a cause, in which it was little likely that she could ever become more than a simple spectator. It does not appear that Austria in the commencement was so eager to accept the proposed coalition; a long standing jealousy of Russia has ever since the Congress of Vienna been a prevalent feeling in that Cabinet; not perhaps so strong as during

the time of Alexander, but still sufficient to render Prince Metternich very cautious of adopting any proposal from that quarter without due and proper reflexion. So great indeed was the primary hesitation, that rumours were circulated of very strong language being used by M. de Tatteischoff to the Prince, in a message direct from the Emperor Nicholas, which had such an effect upon the Austrian Minister's nerves, that he is said to have kept his bed for three days afterwards. At the same time it must be allowed, these rumours are not much confirmed by the subsequent conduct of the Austrian Government, as when once the treaty had been accepted, that power has shown itself as hearty in the cause, and as prominent in action, according to the means employed, as Great Britain herself.

We now come to France, and the part which she has acted on this occasion. Ever since the celebrated expedition to Egypt, under General Bonaparte, which gave a momentary lustre to the French arms, but was doomed to meet with a disastrous retreat, and inglorious termination, France has never ceased to look towards the Asiatic shores of the Mediterranean as the natural field offered to her long standing wishes for colonial speculation and influence. The

jealousy, with which every advantage gained by England has always been viewed by her rival, has in few instances been exemplified more strongly than in that excited by our immense Colonial possessions. It was the general cry during the Empire, even when one half of Europe was subjected to their iron sway: ships, colonies and commerce were still the prized objects of Napoleon's ambition, the more prized perhaps, because unattainable. The Restoration planned a momentary occupation of Algeria, in order to avenge a national insult. The government of July did not dare to resist this popular yearning and clamour for colonization; in defiance of the previous promises given by the Polignac ministry, it declared the whole province a lawful conquest; and serious remonstrances from the other European powers might have involved France in some very awkward discussions, if they themselves had not felt convinced, that her wilful conduct on this occasion would not fail eventually to ensure its natural and deserved retribution. *

* The expences of this Colony are one hundred millions per annum, and sixty thousand French soldiers have found a grave in Algeria since the occupation of it.

It is not probable that France had any fixed idea of carrying her views to this length on the Egyptian territory, but she had long encouraged a vague feeling that some advantage might be gained to herself by secretly protecting the cause of Mehemet Ali. Many French officers had found preferment in his ranks; he was a conqueror; he was wealthy, he affected to encourage the arts of civilization; and, though a vassal, was evidently in the eyes of Europe more powerful than his master. France had been long not only jealous of British influence at the Porte, but saw herself nearly eclipsed by it; she found there was nothing to be gained in that quarter, either in a diplomatic or commercial sense, which her rival was not ready to engross for herself. She therefore readily turned her thoughts towards Egypt, as a counterpoise to English influence at the Porte. It does not appear that there was any private agreement or understanding with the Pacha; the intercourse between the two governments was confined to good wishes, to facilities of communication, perhaps vague hopes of assistance, whenever the great struggle for independence should take place.

The objects of France were as yet undefined, tending more to future advantages independent

of England, than to any positive benefit to be reaped at present. Marshal Soult indeed boasted, that his influence stopped the march of Ibrahim, after the battle of Nizib.

This struggle for independance has been long clearly foreseen. In August 1838, I met at Carlsbad a very intelligent Egyptian, who gave me much information as to the Pacha's plans. His name was Abro; he is nephew to the Minister Boghar Bey, and had been long employed as dragoman at the Court of Mehemet Ali, for which he was very well adapted, for he spoke with fluency eight different languages, and seemed really well informed on all subjects. He made no secret of the Pacha's firm intention to declare his independance of the Porte, or of his conviction that it would bring on a general war in Europe; which he termed the war of opinion; then, said he, will be made apparent the double policy of Lord Palmerston, who now secretly encourages Mehemet Ali in his projects, though England is openly the firm ally of the Sultan. The revenue of the Pacha he described as 40 millions of jalaris, his fleet twelve sail of the line, besides frigates, all equipped and manned on a footing much superior to that of the Turks. No objection would be made on his part to the

annual tribute, which had become of trifling amount, as the purses which were formerly equal to 50gs. are now depreciated in value to 5gs. but the Pacha would no longer permit any interference in the policy of his government, and felt confident that an appeal to arms would only ensure to him the possession of all his present advantages. He described the enfeebled state of the Turkish Empire, as able to present no barrier to the ambition of Russia, who could always seize upon Constantinople, in spite of Europe, whenever she deemed that her own interests required it.

He further added, that much luxury had lately been introduced into Egypt. The Pacha lived in great splendour and magnificence, his table was regularly served by French cooks, and champagne was his constant favourite beverage. His son, Ibrahim, had bought the state carriage of Charles X. when it was put up to sale in Paris; and had had another built for his own use, with harness for six horses, covered with gold and trappings, which cost the large sum of 3,000 guineas.

When the signature of this treaty, which had for its object the settlement of the Eastern Question, was first proposed to the French government, it met with a very different recep-

tion from that, which had been shown by the other powers. It was not a positive point blank refusal, but a string of evasive remonstrances, which the French ambassador in London was at first instructed to offer to this proposal. This treaty indeed clashed much more with the general views of M. Thiers, than was at first supposed; he had no wish to see his friend the Pacha reduced to a state of submission, or the Sultan re-established in the possession of Syria; and his pride was nettled at the idea of following in the wake of England and Russia, in order to promote a state of affairs in the East, which he himself had never contemplated, perhaps had always encouraged the Pacha to believe impossible. It is ridiculous to suppose that France could ever have looked upon Mehemet Ali, in the light of an ally; he never had been an independent power; and no nation, particularly one, who professed to be on terms of peace and amity with his master, could pretend to form an alliance with a vassal unless it chose at once openly to advocate the cause of treason and rebellion. At first M. Thiers had the vanity to suppose that his opposition to the general views, in the name of France, might prove an insurmountable impediment to the

completion of the treaty. Instructions were given to the French Ambassador to continue the system of delay, in order to gain time for the furtherance of other manœuvres; to decline any adhesion to the principles of the treaty; and without flying in the face of the contracting parties, calmly but steadily to keep aloof from the execution of it. During this interval representations were privately made by M. Thiers to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, with a view of detaching those Cabinets from the proposed league; and in the beginning of June, advantage was taken of the accidental journey of a German Prince, nearly connected with the Emperor Nicholas, to the neighbourhood of Ems, to make through him a proposal to that Sovereign, which had for its object the solution of what was called *une grande question politique*. This proposal has been since strongly suspected to consist of an offer on the part of France to aid and abet Russia in all her views of personal aggrandizement in the East, on the condition, that Russia on the other hand should agree to guarantee to France her old frontier on the Rhine, that constant object of her pride and ambition. It is generally known here that the Emperor's reply to this private negotiation was short and decisive. "*C'est trop*

tard." Brunow was then in London, and had nearly accomplished his mission.

Nevertheless every entreaty was made to France, in the person of her Ambassador, to join in the general project for the settlement of this Question; but in vain; she was apprised at last that in the event of her continued refusal, the treaty would be signed without her; and great regret was also expressed that her solitary dissent should drive those, who still wished for her concurrence, to such a disagreeable alternative. These entreaties were always as constantly declined, as they were repeated. At length, finding all further intercession of no avail, the representatives of the four remaining powers assembled in Downing Street, without further reference to M. Guizot, who still persisted in his obduracy, signed this memorable treaty with the Porte on the 15th July, which has since become such a fatal source of discord and dire animosities.

It was impossible for M. Thiers, after such continued and fruitless solicitations, to make any fair or legal objection to this proceeding; but as the mortification at seeing all his hopes disappointed, was too bitter to be concealed, it became necessary to fix upon some other pretext, which might colour or justify his unrestrained indignation. Precluded from

complaining of the substance, he attached himself at once to the form, and declared that the manner in which this disagreeable event had been notified to the French Ambassador, was uncourteous and insulting to the dignity of the nation which he represented. It is much to be feared that in this instance Lord Palmerston did unfortunately give some handle to the accusations with which his adversary was so enchanted to attack him. Whether he was already aware of the underhand attempts made by M. Thiers to draw away one of the contracting parties from the general engagement, by a most insidious proposal; or whether he was convinced that the French Minister had never had any real object in view but to gain time, and ultimately defeat the existing negotiations; it certainly does appear, that the communication of this proceeding was made to M. Guizot in a very abrupt and cavalier manner, such indeed as would be hardly authorised in the common intercourse between well bred individuals. The following is the manner in which I hear that M. Guizot has mentioned the circumstance to his friends.*

* At the same time Lord P. may say, and perhaps with justice, that after the known and avowed refusal of France, it was a more delicate pro-

On the 16th of July he repaired by appointment to the Foreign Office; he found Lord Palmerston occupied in writing, who, after the usual salutations, requested him to take a chair, saying, "*Je suis à vous dans un instant,*" at the same time presenting to him a paper, which had been purposely placed on the table for his inspection. This paper, to M. Guizot's surprise, contained a summary of the heads of the treaty, which on the preceeding day had been signed by the other contracting parties; so far indeed without his knowledge, but for which constant intimations had certainly given him due preparation. The suddenness of this communication was very ill received by the French Ambassador, and it is said that he wrote rather a strong note in reply on the following day; but it is clear that he never himself took it in the strong sense of insult or even incivility, which the government here has since strived so forcibly and mischievously to impress on the feelings of the French nation.

This treaty then was signed on the 15th of July; was known by Ministers here on the

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ceeding to sign the treaty at once with the other powers, than to make one fresh and fruitless appeal to M. Guizot, and then sign it in the very teeth of a fresh refusal.

18th ,but never made public in Paris till the 24th, indeed the first intimation of the event was obtained by allusions in the English papers. At this very period the French funds owing to the conviction that the project of conversion would not be realized had reached the highest point at which they had ever been quoted. The 5 per cents, were at 120, and the 3 per cents, at 86. During the last two or three days previous to this intelligence, large sums had been sold out on the Stock Exchange, and those, who remarked the signs of the times, felt aware that a storm was brewing in some direction. At last the fact was generally ascertained that England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, without the connivance of France, had signed a convention in London for the settlement of the Eastern Question, by compelling Mehemet Ali to submit to their conditions. The irritation expressed at the first moment was mild, in comparison to the violent explosion of feeling which M. Thiers and his organs of the press have since thought fit to excite in the French nation against England, in order to soothe his own wounded vanity, and defeated pretensions. The public prints were occupied with threats and speculations according to their particular bias. The Courier proposed

an immediate armament. It contained the following modest sentence. " It is proposed to isolate France. Well then, we will march alone; and we shall see what Europe and its Kings will gain by it. The isolation of France is France at the head of nations." The Constitutionnel (known as the organ of M. Thiers,) said, " The Pacha may rely on our aid." The Débats, (that of the Court,) was more prudent. It abused the policy and talents of M. Thiers, it believed that the present cloud would blow over, but this would depend much on the way in which affairs should be managed; as there is no illness however trifling, which a rash physician may not convert into a dangerous disease. The Commerce said, " We have not a government at our head, we have only an intrigue."

The celebration of the three glorious days now intervened to occupy the public attention; on the 28th, the exhumated bodies of the heroes of July were conveyed in a magnificent funeral car, drawn by twenty-four horses to the column in the Place de la Bastille, where they were interred under the base. There were 500 bodies or remnants contained in fifty coffins. The honours paid to the ashes of these champions of liberty may be well

contrasted with those which will be shortly paid to the corpse of Napoleon, who, had he reigned till the year 1830, would have ordered the said champions to be shot without judge or jury.

It soon became apparent that a community of discontent at the present turn of affairs, had tended to unite, at least for the moment, the Sovereign and his Minister, who only a week before had been on a very disagreeable footing with each other. However the King might be anxious to maintain peace, it was totally impossible for him not to feel and exhibit considerable indignation, when his Minister was hourly impressing on his mind, and also on the public spirit, the irritating conviction, that the national honour had been deeply insulted. France is a brave, and above all others a chivalrous nation, highly susceptible of affront, and impatient of the slightest insult. A Frenchman may forget the loss of fortune and the loss of friends; but he will never brook the loss of honour; it was therefore a mischievous policy of M. Thiers to work upon these high minded passions in his countrymen, merely to avenge his own discomfiture in a political intrigue, which no one can pretend to assert that he himself had conducted in a spirit of

frankness and honesty, such as would have conciliated the sympathy and confidence of those, with whom he had to deal. He fomented the general indignation; he gave those about him reason to believe that he would support the Pacha; and in the first instance issued orders for the immediate levy of 200,000 men. He did not indeed pretend that he would plunge the country into war; but he talked loudly of concession and apology to the injured honor of France; and above all, that the *insolence* of Lord Palmerston must be formally resented. The increase of the army was too palatable in a certain quarter, not to ensure a cordial assent and cooperation in the new armaments; and advantage was therefore taken of these events to encrease the effective army to 500,000 men; a measure which was desired before, but not hitherto deemed expedient to be proposed by the government.

Private emissaries were now dispatched by M. Thiers to Alexandria, whose instructions have never been very exactly defined; but if we may judge from the Pacha's resolute bearing in the outset of the campaign; and his subsequent expressions at the close of the contest, that if he had never listened to the suggestions of France, he should have acted much more

conformably to his own interest and advantage; it is not too much to presume that the object of these instructions was, to urge him to make a strong resistance to the terms proposed by the four powers. In giving this advice to the Pacha, M. Thiers was probably influenced by a double motive, independent of his wish to foil the objects of a treaty, which had just produced so much disappointment and mortification to himself. In the first place he still indulged a hope, that the menacing attitude lately assumed by France, and the dread of an European war might eventually frustrate the ratification of this treaty; secondly, he calculated, that, in default of this result, the season would be so far advanced before the naval hostilities could be commenced on the coast of Syria, that the combined fleets would never be able to accomplish their objects, (if met with a proper resistance) before the usual stormy weather would force them to quit their station, and seek shelter in port. Then would time be given for the chance of events to interpose; delay might produce disunion; and some unforeseen accident might change the position of the Pacha's affairs. The sequel has proved that in both these points M. Thiers has been equally disappointed. In the beginning of

August the king went to Eu, and M. Guizot was summoned from London to give an account of his stewardship. M. Thiers had endeavoured and very undeservedly to throw all the blame and obloquy on the Ambassador; he complained that he had not given him proper information of what was going on in London; that he had himself been duped by the British Cabinet; and concluded by saying to those around him, "*Ces imbécilles de doctrinaires embrouillent tout.*" Indeed he carried on the farce so long, that M. Guizot, who was not only conscious of having performed his duty, but also knew too well the duplicity of his employer, felt himself seriously offended and ill-treated by his conduct. About this time the following sentiments were expressed by M. Thiers in his own Salon: he began by deploring the chance of war, and complaining of the affront put upon France; but said, that his mind was made up to abide by the result. He then added, "My intention is fixed, I will begin by augmenting our fleets in the Mediterranean, because that will at once bring on an explanation. I will then lay down the limits, and conduct, which shall be pursued by the contending parties; if that is not accepted, war shall be made with all the energy and vigour of which we are ca-

pable, and *jusqu' au bouleversement de tout.* Do not imagine that I am blind to the consequences of such a dreadful extremity, I can foresee in it a general desolation, perhaps our own destruction, as well as that of the monarchy; I do not wish to employ the propagande, I have too much regard for my own character to use such weapons,* but the contest shall be war to extinction, sooner than submit to insult. The two shores of the Mediterranean belong to us; we have a greater interest there than Messieurs les Anglais, and what business has Prussia to interfere at all in the question?"— He then launched out into some severe strictures on M. Guizot, and generally on the doctrinaires, whose assistance he had not disdained to court when he thought it necessary for his projects against M. Molè. I am the more anxious to personify M. Thiers in this short sketch of the past, because it is become notorious, that all the late fatal discussions, and particularly the unjust hatred excited here against the English name, have solely origina-

* This was a bold assertion, after the Constitutionnel had threatened to make war *avec la force et avec les peuples.* But M. Thiers can dictate expressions to his own journals, and then deny them afterwards as non-official.

ted in M. Thiers, M. Thiers, and nothing but M. Thiers.

Politically speaking, and only politically, every Englishman has an undoubted right to detest the name of M. Thiers. It is he, who has used his baneful influence over the public press in France to revive from their nearly extinguished embers, all those national animosities and prejudices, which forty years ago disgraced and separated these two great and powerful countries. But in private life every one will concur in saying, that the talents and instruction of M. Thiers not only render him an ornament of society as an orator, a scholar, and an historian; but might also have qualified him for the post of Minister, if experience had not fatally proved, that he was completely unfitted for the task.

Of him it may be said, as of a certain Roman:—

Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.

While the Royal Family were at Eu, a mad attempt was made by Louis Bonaparte to invade France. He landed near Boulogne with 52 followers, English, Italian, and French vagabonds collected in the purlieus of London, was immediately attacked by the national

guard and made prisoner with his whole party. He was only attended by General Montholon and Colonel Pasquin : one lieutenant of the 42nd regiment in garrison joined him, and was included in his fate. The event created no sensation here beyond the comments of a day ; and it amply proved that the cause of that family now excites no feeling of sympathy or interest in France.

In England it only caused a transient apprehension, that during the present cloudy aspect of affairs, a hasty suspicion might be felt here, that the English government had connived at this rash undertaking ; but if the English character was too honourable to commit such an act, the French character was also too honourable to harbour such a suspicion.

Some time after the signature of the treaty Lord Palmerston sent to the French Cabinet a memorandum of its contents ; the same probably, which was shown to M. Guizot in Downing Street ; to this was added a note, saying, that though France had not thought fit to join in the views of the contracting parties, he still hoped that she would assist with her *Appui moral* a measure, calculated to ensure the peace of Europe, which he was the more anxious to obtain, as he was well aware

that French influence had great weight with the Pacha.

This note was very ill received, it was considered as taunting and ironical: and a reply was sent to the following effect. "*Vous avez fait vos affaires, nous allons nous occuper des nôtres.*" Soon after this, M. Guizot returned to his post in London.

One point however has since been ascertained by M. Thiers' own confession to his private friends, which however it may corroborate all the suspicions of his double dealing in this Eastern Question, amply proves that the hasty mode in which Lord Palmerston procured the signatures to the treaty of July in London, has in fact caused all the late unfortunate differences between England and France. M. Thiers has allowed, that notwithstanding all the difficulties he had previously raised, in hopes to defeat the project, if he had known, or could have foreseen, that the execution of it was really so near at hand, he would never have allowed this treaty to be absolutely signed, without himself becoming a party to it.

The excitement now began in some measure to subside; it was generally known that the treaty had been ratified; but rumours were spread that both Austria and Prussia had sig-

nified their intentions to avoid a general war; and though pledged to support the settlement of the Eastern Question, would still use their efforts to avert as much as possible the recourse to any very violent measures. In fact all, save the immediate adherents of M. Thiers, imagined, that France would deem it most expedient for her own interests to soften the Pacha; and that the rebellious vassal himself, feeling his inability to cope with the combined powers of Europe, would shortly lower his tone, and make full submission to the Sultan.

The omission of any allusion to France in the Queen's Speech, on the prorogation of Parliament, whether arising from caution, or inadvertency in the British Cabinet, excited a fresh feeling of irritation here; and a recommencement of gasconades in the daily press. It was an opportunity of conciliation lost, if conciliation were really wished; and however France may have placed herself in the wrong, it must still be allowed that the whole tenour of Lord Palmerston's conduct through what he is pleased to term his late triumphant policy, has evinced an indifference, if not a palpable disregard to French feelings, which, whether engendered by personal pique, or national pride, has very much tended to embitter this

most unfortunate Question. Success too, which seldom fails to soften generous minds, seems in the present instance to have closed up all the sources of amenity and of conciliation, which tend to allay those angry feelings, ever generated by wounded pride. In the meantime the preparations for arming were continued, and, as warlike rumours became more prevalent, the funds continued to decline; and the Government decided that the fortification of Paris should be immediately commenced. It had always been a favorite measure of the King, though on a former occasion rejected by the Chamber.

The Pacha next made a proposal to retain the government of Syria during his life only, and not for his family; which Rifad Bey, in consequence of his instructions, refused to accept. At length the first blow was struck.—On the second of October the Moniteur announced a telegraphic dispatch from Marseilles, stating, that Beyrout had been destroyed by the English Squadron, and Turkish, English, and Austrian troops had landed in Syria. It would be difficult to describe the anger and vexation excited here by this convincing proof that the allied powers, regardless of French opposition, were determined to carry into full

effect the whole spirit of the treaty. A complete panic was felt at the Bourse; the daily press poured forth the most violent invectives and menaces, which caused great popular excitement against England, as the chief actor in the attack; although the immediate organs of M. Thiers in society wishing not to expose the nullity of his interference, altered their tone, talked of peace, and affected to look upon this vigorous demonstration of the Allies, as the natural and expected consequence of the treaty. On the other hand, the audience at all the theatres called for the Marseillaise, the cry for war became very loud, as well in the provinces as in the capital; the lower orders were heard to exclaim in the streets, "*Guerre aux Anglais, ils ont pris notre Beyrout,*" which, from the rage expressed on the subject by the journals, they concluded must be some town in Normandy on the coast, with the name of which they were not familiarly acquainted.

No country in the world is so immediately governed by the public press as France; the newspapers are numerous, cleverly written, and in Paris, there are few individuals, from the highest to the lowest, who have not in the course of the day read one or more of these productions. When therefore it is con-

sidered, how few there are, who take the trouble of thinking for themselves; and that the remaining part of mankind receive their opinions upon trust from others, it is then that the immense influence of the press upon public opinion becomes incontestable, and its mischievous effects, when ill directed, admit of no further doubt. The greater part of the public press in France, since her last revolution, has been the hotbed of sedition, of revolutionary principles, and of national pride; which have found a ready vent during the late unlucky differences. The Editors may pretend to deny their influence, and allege, that they themselves only follow in the wake of public opinion; a position, which can only be exemplified by the simile of the rudder, which certainly follows the ship but as certainly directs its course through the watery deep.

It is needless to say that the mortification of M. Thiers had now nearly reached its climax; he had placed France in a most undeserved humiliating position; in her name he had threatened all Europe; and Europe had disregarded her threats. This quarrel in the outset had been a duel of words between him and Lord Palmerston, whether the signature of a treaty, in which France had positively *declined to take*

any concern, had been notified to M. Guizot with proper courtesy and politeness ; for this was the head and front of the offending and for which it is not credible that one man of sense in France would allow there was the slightest pretext for going to war.

But M. Thiers thought otherwise ; or at least he thought because his own intrigues were defeated, and his own vanity was wounded, that sufficient cause was given to deluge Europe with blood, who though placed far above M. Thiers, had the temper and good sense to discriminate between the honor of his nation, and the pettishness of his Minister ; who perfectly ready on all occasions to assert and support the one, felt no disposition to pander to the other.

The French nation at first took no part in the discussion, her interests could not be much affected by the compulsory submission of Mehemet Ali to his liege lord ; but when M. Thiers thought fit for his own purposes to drill into the minds of his countrymen, through the medium of the public press, the unfounded conviction that they had been insulted, who then can wonder at the generous indignation which followed ?

Had Lord Palmerston now allowed the

matter to rest on these grounds, he might have continued his steady course, conscious of not having offered any intentional or unnecessary provocation. But the demon of discord was at hand, and suggested a measure so foolish, so ill judged, and at the same time unauthorized by the treaty, that it could only be imputed to the well known private animosity of Lord Ponsonby towards Mehemet Ali.

The summary *déchéance* of the Pacha was declared by the Porte.

M. Thiers immediately urged the King to commence hostilities, but his better judgment firmly resisted.

A Cabinet Council was then held, in which four of the eight members were decidedly for peace, among whom were the Ministers of War, of the Marine, and of Finance, the three most interested in the Question, and most able to appreciate the capability of their several departments, to go to war at the moment. Upon this M. Thiers resigned; but as the King conceived that no man was justified in creating so much confusion, and then to desert his post; refused to accept his resignation, but assented to an earlier convocation of the Chambers, which was then fixed for the 28th of October. The result of this was, a note to M. Guizot

ordering him to protest formally against the déchéance of the Pacha, and additional ferment among the masses in Paris excited by the daily press.

The harsh act of deposing the Pacha was a wanton stretch of power; useless to the general cause; and offensive to France, because it showed a studied wish to prove how little her views were to be consulted.

About this time some chartist delegates arrived from Manchester, to protest against a war with France, and trumpet forth a ridiculous tale, that Lord Palmerston was bribed by Russia; notwithstanding all their efforts to obtain some notice in the French papers, little attention was paid to their mission, and less to their story.

Public attention was excited by a note from M. Thiers to M. Guizot, in answer to Lord Palmerston. It was considered generally as pacific, but one passage seemed to show the real feelings of the French Cabinet, as to the English alliance, and might be deemed a clue to future events.

On dit de cette alliance, qu'elle renaîtrait après le but atteint du traité de Juillet. Quand on aura poursuivi à quatre, sans nous, et malgré nous, un but en soi mauvais, que du

moins nous avons cru, et déclaré tel ; quand on l'aura poursuivi par une alliance trop semblable à ces coalitions, qui ont depuis cinquante ans ensanglanté l'Europe ; croire qu'on retrouvera la France sans défiance, sans ressentiment d'une telle offense ; c'est se faire de sa fierté nationale, une idée, qu'elle n'a jamais donnée au monde."

Here is at once the revolutionary pride of the writer displayed, and in his allusion to the wars of the republic, he does not attribute the blood that was spilt to the ruthless invaders of Italy and Germany, but to the coalitions which were formed to repel them.

This was followed by another dispatch, of the 8th of October, from the same hand, which formed a striking contrast to his former boasting. It seemed to make a merit of exacting simply what the treaty had in the outset granted to Mehemet Ali. It *insisted* only on the revocation of the *déchéance*, which the writer well knew was then disapproved and blamed by the representatives of the four powers in London, and leaving the question of Syria to be determined by the fate of war.

This *casus belli* laid down by M. Thiers where no controversy could exist did him great injury with the war party in France, and

rendered his political existence more and more precarious.

Thus, alternately warlike and pacific, bold without caution, and timid without judgment, the Minister found himself entangled in a web of difficulties, out of which he saw no means left of a satisfactory retreat. One last plunge remained to prove his adherence to his original convictions, and he felt that he should not survive it.

The opening of the Chambers was at hand. Monsieur Thiers did not scruple to insist that an additional levy of 150,000 men, and the mobilization of the national guard should be inserted in the King's speech. It was nothing less than throwing down the gauntlet to united Europe; and the King very properly refused to sanction so rash a measure. The Ministry then resigned *en masse*, and the King after much reflexion, after suggesting a more moderate course in the speech, but without effect, accepted their resignations. It may be matter of surprise that when this Cabinet was so equally divided on the subject of war or peace, all should have been unanimous on this occasion; but the peace party were heartily tired of their position, under Monsieur Thiers, and gladly seized this opportunity of vacating

their seats. Monsieur Thiers himself also clearly saw his own peculiar position; he felt that if he resigned now, he might act the part of a martyr to insulted national honor, and might probably hereafter return to power with increased popularity; but if now left in a minority in the Chamber, which he had good reason to anticipate, he would lose both popularity and place, without a chance of ever rising again.

His object was to gain some concession, however small, from the parties to the treaty, which he might exhibit to the Chambers as a trophy, obtained by his late warlike demonstrations, and wanton squandering of the public money. His last effort was the unassuming pacific note of the 8th to M. Guizot, which failing in its object to procure the slightest modification in his favor from the unbending policy of Lord Palmerston, he made up his mind to quit the helm, and fight his own battle in another shape. His conduct had been throughout so wayward and froward; so violent, and yet so little dignified; that it can hardly be matter of surprise if his angered opponents treated him with very little delicacy. The following questions put by him to the Council in London, and the laconic replies in-

dicate the feelings which prevailed on both sides.

"Whether they had sanctioned the déchéance of the Pacha?"

"They had not; but would try to soften the Sultan."

"To what extent they would carry their hostile operations?"

"To the strict letter of the treaty."

"Whether they would attack the two fleets at Alexandria?"

"That would depend on circumstances, and the conduct of the Pacha."

It may certainly be regretted that Lord Palmerston's unbending conduct in many instances should have created a great feeling of acrimony and irritation against England; but it may also be affirmed that France, under any other Minister, would never have found herself in her present isolated position.

An express was sent to London for M. Guizot, who on his arrival entered into negotiation with Marshal Soult; and after a few days consideration, the present ministry were sworn into office. On the fifth of November the King opened the Chambers, with a speech so vague and indefinite, that any construction might have been put upon it; at the same time a wish to

maintain peace was very evident. In proportion as this pacific tendency in the government was acknowledged, a contrary spirit seemed to gain fresh ground with the Parisians, which the two most violent journals, the Constitutionnel, and the National, laboured to fan into a flame; but the military force of the garrison was placed in such a formidable attitude; and the stern resolution of the old Marshal was so well known, that the public tranquillity was not disturbed. It was now understood that the country was not in a state to go to war, but sinister hints were thrown out, that when the armaments were completed, the spring would be the season for action.

On the 12th November the Herald made public a note from Lord Palmerston dated the 2nd, which evinced no signs of conciliation towards the new French Cabinet, and gave no specific assurance that the déchéance would be revoked. It made a very unpleasant impression here, as coming after the pacific speech from the throne, though in fact written before it was known in London; but as some allowance had been made for personal animosity against M. Thiers, its tone was considered far more unbecoming and unfriendly, when addressed to those who had succeeded him.

This new system of inserting in the public papers state documents, which formerly were kept secret in their respective chanceries, is a most dangerous innovation. It forms a part of what is called liberal ideas, that the people are to be gratified at all risks; and the public admitted into Cabinet discussions.

That glimmering of hope, which the sensible part of the community had encouraged from the prospect of a new ministry, was thus in a great measure disappointed by this fresh act of intolerance from London; and it is painful to see how wantonly the good will of a hitherto friendly power has been alienated from England by a perseverance in such conduct, during the whole of this Question.

As to the deposition of the Pacha, which was a grating subject to French feelings, no one has for a single instant doubted that it originated in foreign influence at Constantinople; the Sultan is known to be a mere cypher in the hands of his allies; but from the moment when this unnecessary and unauthorised measure threatened to embarrass the settlement of the treaty itself, or what is more, to endanger the peace of Europe, from that moment it became an imperious duty on the British Cabinet to lose no time in recalling this unreasonable

declaration. And yet, up to the date at which I am now writing, it has been allowed to remain suspended, I say, not over the head of the Pacha, for that alone may be of little import, but over the destinies of the world. The debates on the address were marked by much violence and irritation against England, some of the Deputies had the bad taste to designate that country by the supercilious term of *L'Anglais*, and all the parti gauche joined most cordially in the abuse. Every thing tended to prove very clearly that, though we may have peace at present, the permanencc of such relations must be very doubtful. M. Guizot made a very calm but eloquent speech; he was very happy, as well as true, in one observation; that whenever there occurs in France any movement a little out of the ordinary course of things, Europe believes that a revolution is at hand; and whenever the powers concert together for any object, there is a belief in France, that they are coalescing against her. Notwithstanding his wish for *la paix partout et toujours*, he acknowledged the *mauvais procedès et manque d'égards* of England.

M. Thiers spoke for a long time with great bitterness against M. Guizot, and almost in as many words accused him of betraying him

during his Embassy; he at last dilated into most revolutionary and incendiary language; owning that his intention had been to go to war; and making an appeal to the national honour, he added, "Let me be kept from power; let me be banished for ever; but let it not be said, that, as a French Minister, I would ever have permitted language insulting to the honour of France."

The question might fairly have been asked him, When was such language ever used?

The successes of the combined fleet under the gallant Sir Robert Stopford were as unremitting as they were triumphant. The British admiral has nobly proved to the world, that during twenty five years of inactive peace, the maritime skill and prowess of old England has not only not degenerated from its ancient glory, but has acquired fresh talent and vigour to maintain its uncontested superiority. After the fall of Beyrout, both St. Jean d'Acre and Sidon were subdued; and the terms offered to Mehemet Ali being accepted, the great objects of the treaty seem to be accomplished without any deviation from the strict conditions upon which it was based. The English Gazette of January 8th, indeed announces, that on the 9th of December, Redshid Pacha, Minister of

Foreign Affairs to the Ottoman Porte, declared, that in consequence of the Syrian ports being now occupied by Turkish troops, H. I. M. the Sultan had given orders, that the blockade of the ports and harbours of the coast of Syria should be discontinued. The retreat of Ibrahim with his army must now take place; but when this check is withdrawn from the Syrian population, which though tyrannical has yet been undoubtedly beneficial; a wide field for apprehension will arise from the mutinous and excited spirit of the Druses, and mountaineers, whose licentious warfare will now be restrained with great difficulty by the Ottoman force. Then may Lord Palmerston's policy find itself at fault. M. Guizot's system, if his it can be called, who found himself impelled by the force of events to adopt, at least in appearance, that of the man whom he succeeded and disapproved, was now unfolded to the world. It has been named by the contradictory term of *la paix armée*. It was comprised in the continuation of armaments at home, and the profession of peaceful intentions abroad; in humouring the war fever in France; and in assuring Europe, that she had nothing to apprehend from it.

La paix armée is a solecism in politics; it

can never exist; because it could never be tolerated by other powers, on whom it would entail distrust, and the burdensome necessity of great standing armies, which would be worse than real war, because no one could foresee a respite to unceasing anxiety and expence. Commerce would shortly come to a stand; what individual or company could undertake to carry into execution any speculation or enterprise, however simple or legitimate? The difficulties resulting from this state of things, would fall much more heavily upon France, the poorer country, with less capital and credit; and the one, the least prepared for extended naval operations, which are those that will do the real mischief. Men of sense who govern countries should consider these things. Every shilling of capital in France would be locked up, or return to the bowels of the earth, before we had had this armed peace for a year.

Already have civil remonstrances been made upon this head to the French government; and what can be given in return, but evasive replies, or hopes of better times. The doctrinaires have always placed themselves in this false position. What indeed are the doctrinaires? They are a set of men, who com-

menced by abetting the cry for revolution; and when accomplished, tried to arrest its course, that they might profit by its spoils. They wear indeed the garb, but never felt the spirit of real patriotism : they deal in long reasonings and plausible arguments ; (*unde* doctrinaires) they will join with M. Thiers to turn out M. Molé, and with M. Molé to turn out M. Thiers, their only guide is their own interest; and their only object is place and power.

On the wide field offered by the last Revolution they have been constantly in request ; because men of half measures could alone maintain their ground between the two great contending parties in the state; and from thence has arisen a system of political shuffling, and of political expediency, to which France may attribute the decay of her moral influence in Europe. Where there is no consistency on one side, there can be no confidence on the other.

M. Guizot is a man of talent, a man of instruction, and an honest man. As a doctrinaire M. Guizot is naturally a friend to peace; because his own interests are concerned in its preservation ; with all his excellent qualities, M. Guizot has not been a martyr to the cause

of July; if he has not saved much, he has gained much from the wreck of that revolution. He is now embarked on a sea of perils, with good intentions solely for his guide; while he has to contend with a fierce opposition, a violent unprincipled press, and a popular spirit roused and exasperated by his predecessor. Every well meaning man in both countries must sincerely wish success to his ministerial career; for if he falls, each succeeding change must bring France nearer to that state of moral excitement, which can only find a vent in revolution or war, perhaps in both.

M. Thiers though foremost now in the ranks of opposition, voted in the bureau for the fortifications of Paris. Notwithstanding (as he said) the infamous treatment he had received from the government, (i. e. the King) he would not hesitate to support the proposed grant. It was owing to this avowal that he was soon after nominated Reporter to the Committee on this Question; to which the influence of the Crown mainly contributed; as even the Royal antipathy yielded on this occasion to the furtherance of a favorite project.

This subject of the fortifications of Paris has been handled in every shape by the English press, with most unseemly pertinacity; be-

cause if the French choose to fortify their own Capital, I do not really see what right a foreigner can have to intrude his own gratuitous comments, much less his objections. It is supposed that the cost will be 600 millions of francs; rather a large sum to lay out in one undertaking; but as the money is their own, they have a full right to spend it in their own way. One observation may still be permitted, when the French allege that these fortifications are meant as a defence against an invading enemy. In the time of Napoleon, whose ambition plotted, and whose armies attempted the subjection of every European state, the utility of such a mode of defence became evident, when the allies followed back their invaders to their own Capital. But it is to be hoped that the liberal France of July, and her pacific sovereign, have too much respect for justice and the rights of nations, ever to recommence such a system of lawless aggression. On the other hand it may be affirmed with truth, that the powers of Europe, without such previous provocation, would never attempt to molest France, or contaminate her soil with the foot of a foreign invader.

The late Sir Charles Bunbury, of racing celebrity, was a great admirer of an extensive

prospect. He never would allow a wall to be built round his pleasure ground; but enclosed it with a sunk fence, which did not intercept his view of the surrounding country. Sir Charles in his quaint manner was used to observe on this subject, that those who build walls around their gardens are pleased with the idea that they shut others out; but always forget that they shut themselves in. This observation of the worthy Baronet may perhaps be strongly exemplified by the French on the present occasion; who, when thinking they shut out those who have no intention to approach them, may find they have shut themselves in, and very much circumscribed their own facilities of action and peregrination.

It would be fortunate if the idea should suggest itself to the enlightened mind of H. M. the King of the French, that these fortifications well manned by national guards and troops of the line, might be of singular efficacy in repressing those turbulent riots, and formidable *émeutes*, of which his Capital has been so often the deplorable theatre.

In this view, it must be the sincere wish of all Europe, that these fortifications may be speedily completed; but it does not appear

that there is any certainty of the bill being carried in the Chamber of Deputies.

Tuesday the fifteenth of December was fixed for the funereal pageant, which was to attend the corpse of Napoleon to his sepulchre at the Invalides. But where was the proud Minister who had first conceived the idea of restoring these inanimate remains to the soil of France, and the longing eyes of its inhabitants? an idea, which was to fill up the measure of this Minister's popularity; to make him as President of the Council, first actor in this glorious scene; and hand his name down to posterity as having completed during his ministry this great act of national gratitude? Fallen! fallen from his high estate! a simple spectator among the ranks of the Deputies, was all that remained of the late President of the Council, and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This singular anxious day (for great apprehensions had been excited for the public tranquillity,) went off far more favorably than any one could have expected. As soon as it was light, all the inhabitants of Paris were in motion, wending their eager way to the scene of march; which extended through the Champs Elysées, from the Pont de Neuilly to

the Invalides, and was guarded by a double line of troops from one point to the other. The immense multitudes collected on this spot from the city, from the suburbs, and from all the surrounding country, including the vast armed force engaged in the procession, and in maintaining order, must have amounted to near a million of souls ; and surprising to relate, the whole ceremony passed off with less tumult than the common attendance at a crowded theatre, and almost without a single accident.

There was an evident intention to give it more of a triumphant than of a funereal character; but there was a serious solemnity in parts of the procession which spoke at once to the feelings. First came a long cavalcade of troops of all arms, followed by a few mourning coaches ; then the led charger, covered with a purple veil of crape embroidered with bees. The immense funereal car, which conveyed the body was carved with figures, supporting a canopy, the whole richly gilt. It was drawn by sixteen black horses, decked with rich housings of cloth of gold, and led by grooms in the Emperor's livery, green and gold. The pall was held by Marshal Reggio, Marshal Molitor, Admiral Roussin, and General Bertrand. There was the Prince de Joinville

with a body of seamen belonging to the Belle Poule, who had made the voyage to St. Helena, followed by Grenadiers of the old guard, Mamelukes, &c., and immediately after the car a detachment of 86 non-commissioned officers of the different regiments of cavalry, each carrying the Imperial Eagle, veiled with black crape, and inscribed with the name of a department. It was really a grand sight, and such, if we consider all the circumstances, as never was seen before in the world, or will ever be seen again; but very few seemed to be struck with these reflections. How natural does it appear to have recalled to mind at that moment the extraordinary career of the individual himself; the pilgrimage to his tomb at St. Helena; and that all these countless multitudes were assembled by one accord to greet the corpse of him, whose memory for the last twenty-five years had been not only forgotten, but proscribed.

At the same time how passing strange was this scene at the present day, when the French people pride themselves on liberty and liberal institutions, to behold them worshipping the memory of that despot, who strangled freedom, and led their fathers to be butchered like herds of cattle, at the shrine of his inordinate am-

bition. The power of national vanity was never so strongly exemplified.

The people, notwithstanding the intense cold, climbed on the trees and on the posts, lined the whole road in dense crowds, gaping and staring in silence, with about as much interest as if it had been the procession of the *bœuf gras.*

The scene at the *débarcadour* at Courbevoie was singularly striking, and when the coffin was borne from the *chapelle ardente* on the steamer, to be placed on the funereal car, the aged Marshal Soult, who was waiting bare headed on the shore, prostrated himself before it, and burst into tears.

All this multitude departed with the utmost order and tranquillity to their respective homes; and Paris was as quiet during the whole night, as if no uncommon occurrence had drawn its inhabitants from their usual daily occupations. It is true that great reinforcements of troops had been brought to the capital ; that all the military posts were doubled ; and patroles of horse and foot hourly paraded through the streets ; but not a cry of disorder was heard, and the English were as little noticed as any other individuals, notwithstanding the journals had affected to advise them, not to appear in

public. It is very probable that this scene passed off much more quietly than the original contrivers had anticipated; and there would have been a serious *émeute*, if the immense military preparations had not rendered the experiment of an *émeute* one of which the termination would not have been quite so certain as the commencement. The state of public feeling at that moment was such, that its silence could only have been enforced by secret awe and intimidation.

If people had imagined that the solution of the Eastern Question, by removing a pretext for hostilities between England and France, would facilitate a return to amicable feelings, experience has only proved that the national animosity has since been continued here with greater vigour. For this we are indebted to the press on both sides of the channel, who have bandied back, and re-echoed every source of discord and provocation against each other. The press is really become a scourge and a pest in both countries; but more particularly in France, where the *journalistes* have erected themselves into a *puissance*. The profession here is so lucrative, that one half of the *fine gentlemen* at the opera are composed of this class; who availing themselves of the

actual disorganized state of society in France, push themselves into notice, and usurp that position, which in other countries is held by men of rank and fortune.

When the historian shall attempt to detail the cause of this sudden alienation between two powers, who for the last 25 years have been leagued in peace and amity; he will look back in vain to past records for a parallel event in the annals of nations. Flimsy pretexts have always been found by the strong of this world to wage war against the weak; but it is happily a novel case, though not in itself less unfortunate, that two nations equally powerful, equally civilized, and equally interested in the preservation of peace, should for the shadow of a shade of an umbrage be placed on the brink of war. It is hardly fair towards England, who has hitherto remained calm and unmoved, to put her on the same footing of hostile menace with France, because unless forced into the lists by her intolerant neighbour, she has no wish to disturb the peace of the world. One individual here has raised the dormant spirit of revolutionary pride, and in isolating the nation has taught them that they have now no measures to keep with other nations. A sullen antipathy has been directed

against England, because she has been successful in promoting the objects of a treaty, which M. Thiers himself has never openly disapproved, although he refused on the part of France to be concerned in it. The Chamber of Deputies had resounded with taunts of the ambition of England, the perfidy of England, and the *last outrage* of England; no one had the justice or the candour to state in what consisted that ambition, that perfidy, and that outrage, but all joined in a senseless cry of headstrong violence against her, which was as unbecoming the dignity of a grave assembly, as their assertions were void of foundation. The Eastern Question is decided, and what has England pretended to gain by this interference? What indeed has she ever gained during this now *repudiated* alliance to the prejudice of France? Even those who were forced by their reason or their conscience to pronounce M. Thiers in the wrong; had neither the courage or the impartiality to admit that England was in the right. Ah, Messieurs les Deputés! if you would listen more to the dictates of your reason, and less to the instigation of your passions, you would better perform your duty to your country, and expose yourselves less to the animadversions of the world.

If England has been thus scurvily treated by the Deputies in the Chamber, she has not met with more charitable feelings from the academicians at the Institut.

The 29th of December was fixed for the reception of M. Molé as member of the Academy. It was to be hoped that in this seat of learning, the mild influence of science, in whose eyes all men are equal, would have banished prejudice and passion from their literary discussions.

> Scilicet Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
> Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

This may have been an axiom at Rome, but has not been reduced to practice at Paris.

Alas! even the Academy of France was doomed to become the arena of political hatred.

M. Molé made a very eloquent speech, and with the good taste, inseparable from a man of the world, confined himself to the topics of his inauguration. Not so, M. Dupin, who went out of his way to introduce into his reply the seeds of discord, and excite a feeling of rancour against England, similar to that which raged in his own breast. In alluding to Guillaume Molé, échevin of Paris, in 1429, who opened the gates of Paris to Charles VII., he added,

that the monarch was then engaged *in driving the English out of France.* This by the way does not reflect much credit on M. Dupin's historical knowledge; because he may learn, that Henry VI. of England was crowned in Paris in 1430, and the English were not driven out of France till the year 1450. Nevertheless this sally, given in a very pointed manner by M. Dupin, was received by the most distinguished society in France with unanimous acclamation and applause. It was the most painful and mortifying avowal of hostile feeling that we had yet experienced. We could bear with fortitude the invectives of M. Jaubert, the virulence of M. Berryer, and even the malevolent allusion of M. Dupin; but here were comprised the sentiments of the most noble ladies in France, who give the tone to good society; the oracles from whose judgment all appeal is fruitless and vain. Here were the Duchesses, the *grandes Dames,* the *petites Maîtresses,* and the *bas blues,* who joined in denouncing England as the enemy of France; well might we exclaim with Mark Antony in Shakespeare, "This was the most unkindest cut of all." In the due spirit of humility we would fain "*kiss the rod that chastened us,*" but still let us trust, that when the first excitement of, I hope, an

unfounded resentment, shall have passed away, the real good sense, and acute perception, which characterises that elevated class of women in France, may induce them to scan the case more fairly than the men, and at least pause, before they finally condemn.

As the English alliance has now become an object of general disgust, the speculators in politics have with one accord directed their views and wishes towards a treaty with Russia.

Already do they assert that Russia is the natural Ally of France, because their interests can never clash; while a union with England, as they pretend, must always be hollow and disadvantageous. So far back as last September a speech was attributed to a high Quarter, which indicated an expectation, that the new connection between England and Russia would not last. "*Ils se feront d'abord des caresses, puis des égratignures, à la fin ils se mordront.*" The desire of approximation to Russia is not founded alone on this idea. A great relaxation in the prohibitory system of intercourse with France has really of late been permitted by the Emperor Nicholas. Ever since the Revolution of July the Russian subjects abroad have found the greatest difficulty in obtaining leave from H. I. M. to reside at Paris. Here and there a

few individuals on the plea of ill health have been allowed to prolong a doubtful stay; but it was always considered a personal favor, and granted with reluctance. A marked change in this respect has lately taken place, and notwithstanding the menacing attitude which France has assumed towards Europe, an influx of Russian visitors, and of superior rank, has been remarked in Paris. Whether this is sufficient to authorise the French hopes of an alliance with Russia, others may decide; but if the long standing hatred to the throne of July, and to all revolutionary principles, from which the Emperor has never deviated, be calmly considered, another cause for this apparent sociability may be easily found.

I have already presumed to say that the object of Russia in grasping at this treaty of July was, that her shrewdness foresaw in it the inevitable rupture of that alliance between France and England, which for ten years had marred all her political projects in Europe. The Emperor has no real friendship for either; but his interest commands that they should be divided. This object being now accomplished, by the rash policy of M. Thiers, who has completely played his game; it next remains for the Emperor to consolidate his work, by preventing

any chance of an amicable reunion. Thus he has a double object in receiving with complacency the avowed cajoleries of France; he works upon the hopes of the one, and the jealousies of the other, till he more and more effectually separates both from each other; hoping in the end to make himself the centre of attraction; and thus rule the destinies of the world. Great mystery is just now made of a very cordial note received from St. Petersburg: while if the truth were known, one of a much more cordial nature was forwarded by the same courier to London.

Much additional and unnecessary irritation against England was created here by that *sweeping clause*, in a private letter from Lord Melbourne to King Leopold, which was forwarded to the Tuilleries, and shown there to several individuals. When questioned on that subject in the Chamber by M. Jaubert, as to the offensive expression, M. Guizot denied that the word *balayer* had been used; and that he would never have permitted language so indecorous to be addressed to France. This he might very safely assert, as the letter was written in *English*, and not addressed to the French government.

The next consideration is, what are to be our

relations in future with France. The idea of war is too monstrous to be admitted; reason and good sense forbid it on both sides. Still there are certain contingencies under which it may become possible, and therefore the old Latin adage, *Si vis pacem para bellum*, has been of necessity adopted by England and the other powers.

This state of affairs cannot last long, as when all the world is armed, it will be very difficult to avoid coming to blows; but as France was the first to arm, her only mode to inspire confidence in her pacific intentions will be, to set the example of disarming. This act of real magnanimity on her part, it will perhaps be a difficult task to persuade her, in her present state of excitement, readily to adopt, much more to curb the insolent press on both sides, which daily foments the bad passions of all concerned. But France has immense interests at stake; every man of capital, or landed property, or engaged in trade; every man attached to the welfare of his family and of his country must feel convinced that if the salutary system adopted by M. Guizot is forced to yield to the still unceasing opposition of M. Thiers, and his party in the Chamber, from that hour the die is cast; and no chance is left but war, revo-

lution, and the extinction of the monarchy. The contending parties are now arrayed in front of each other, the good sense of France must decide which shall gain the ascendancy.

With the sincere and earnest hope that the righteous cause of good order may prevail, we still must feel that our late intimate alliance has been too roughly dissolved, ever to be closely cemented again in our time. France indeed has proved by her own assertions that she never really felt or wished it.

It was perhaps a mistake in the commencement to suppose, that these two nations, both maritime, both commercial, both manufacturing, both having capital, both having and still seeking colonial dependencies, could be what is termed intimate allies. Each must be watching every step of the other, and complaining of every advantage enjoyed, and most particularly of every one taken by the other. It is quite clear that France and England at peace, respecting each other, and each the rights of the other, are strong enough to preserve the general peace, and prevent the oppression of the weak of this world by the strong; but if it is endeavoured to carry further the intercourse between these rivals for every thing interesting to the prosperity, the ambition, and the vanity

of a nation, they must quarrel; and their quarrel must deluge the world in blood.

But if not intimate allies, what in the name of Heaven is to prevent these two great nations from living upon friendly terms with each other? Let each protect and advance its own interests, without encroaching on the rights and privileges of the other; let each be independent and unshackled; maintaining its own dignity, its own views, and its own principles of internal government, each, not only cautious of giving offence, but studying to promote cordiality on all occasions, when the general good of the world may be promoted. Let each endeavour to be foremost in the glorious race of science and civilization, striving without jealousy to bear away the prize in moral improvement, and in the arts of peace. Then instead of disturbing Europe with our petty feuds, and rancorous susceptibilities on any object of selfish interest which may occur between us, we shall act on the broad basis of general philanthropy, and instead of being a curse, shall become a reciprocal blessing to each other, and to all the human race.

One who from motives of private friendship, and real gratitude, must always bear the

warmest attachment to France; one who from no short experience knows the valuable, as well as amiable qualities, which abound in that pleasant land; will never despair to see a happy solution of the problem, that two nations doomed by their position, and their aspirations to be constant rivals, may still possess sufficient magnanimity to remain constant friends.

Paris, January, 15th, 1841.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page xvi, line 6, Introduction, *dele,* " obscure."
68, line 27, *for* " par," *read* " pas."
70, last line, *for* " felt they wish," *read* " felt the wish."
76, line 22, *for* " pikuet," *read* " picquet."
155, line 1, *for* " Rainey," *read* " Raincy."
159, line 1, *for* " courtries," *read* " courtiers."
166, line 21, *for* " said him," *read* " said to him."
192, line 9, *for* " General Talor," *read* " General Talon."
249, line 13, *for* "Duchesse de Gontaret," *read* "Duchesse de Gontaut."
257, line 23, *for* " General Balthagar," *read* " General Balthazar."
294, line 16, *for* " Argentan," *read* " Argenton."
318, line 16, *for* " Sorthenes," *read* " Sosthene."
333, line 9, *for* " St. Autain," *read* " Aulaire."
367, line 21, *for* " inpressed," *read* " impressed."
381, line 21, *for* " Benyer," *read* " Berryer."

VOL. II.

Page 14, line 21, *for* " Calomaide," *read* " Calomarde."
82, line 22, *for* " Cleytandres," *read* " Clytandres."
101, line 5, *for* " Montesquious," *read* " Montesquieus."
104, line 13, *for* " Marqueetrie," *read* " Marquetrie."

FRANCE AND THE FRENCH.

WHAT Ferguson observes of the multitude may with equal propriety be applied to Sovereign Princes. They unintentionally contribute to the bringing about events, which they never contemplated. Every step, says he, and every movement of the multitude, even in what are termed enlightened ages, are made with equal blindness to the future, and nations stumble upon establishments, which are indeed the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design.

A revolution has taken place in this country, which paralysed trade, disjointed society, altered the succession, and rendered France an object of terror and suspicion to her neighbours. The most zealous partisans of

this violent explosion allow, that never since the dreadful crisis in 1789, the country had been in so prosperous and flourishing a condition. The blessings of a long peace had closed the wounds inflicted by the invasion of 1815, public credit was established, the funds were above par, personal liberty was assured, commerce had revived, and wealth was circulating freely through all the channels of this vast Empire.

Three days sufficed to shake this prosperous fabric to its very foundation. History abounds in details of secret conspiracies, long and artfully combined, planned with care and executed with courage; but in this wonderful example of human vicissitudes it does not appear that one single individual even of the most prominent actors in this scene retired to his bed on the night of Sunday the twenty-fifth of July, with even a latent suspicion that a great Revolution would break out on the following day.

The exaggerated statements which have been put forth about this remarkable event, according to the excited passions and feelings of the two contending parties must puzzle the casual observer in forming a proper judgment on the facts, which have really occurred.

A fair and candid recital then of those facts, which are acknowledged to be true by all parties, can be the only primary ground work of speculation on this interesting subject. The inevitable hand of fate has ordained the accomplishment of a revolution, by which so many jarring interests have been compromised, so many feelings lacerated, and so many duties placed in jeopardy, that a true and impartial opinion of its real character will never be clearly formed by any writer till all these conflicting passions have been buried in the grave, and another generation shall take up the pen to review with calmness and moderation the passing events of this period. If party spirit and the opposite political opinions by which every man now is more or less biassed, render a dispassionate view of the original causes highly improbable, it may still be asserted that positive *results*, which no one can deny, have since become apparent, and lead us to reflect whether this revolution, (justifiable or not as it may be considered) has produced any of its promised fruits; or to speak more plainly, improved in any shape the moral or political situation of the French people. For that after all is the great question. Allowing then for the sake of argument, that the reign of the

Bourbons was inimical to the welfare of France, and incompatible with the spirit of the age, ten years have now elapsed since their final expulsion, and it is only fair to ask the question, whether the nation has since become more prosperous, more moral, more tranquil, or more free? Whether the patriotic sentiments professed in the outset by the leaders of this great commotion have been realised and identified by any noble exertions for the public good; or whether they have not rather proved in the sequel a cloak for the views of selfish ambition, and the speculations of private interest?—

A total subversion of the social system in a great and powerful nation could only be justified to Europe, and indeed to common sense, on the grounds of immense benefits to be obtained by a suffering people; at any rate the amount of advantage should bear an acknowledged proportion to the extent of the sacrifice; and no logic can palliate the wholesale ruin of thousands unless it evidently promoted the welfare of millions. Those who have resided long in France must feel impressed with a full conviction that the millions have derived no benefit from this dear bought crisis, while a few speculating politicians have crept in to

reap all the profit.—The problem therefore turns upon one of these two questions :—Either the revolution of July was unjust and unnecessary, because it has produced no beneficial results: or being just, and necessary, it has been so misused and perverted by those who had laboured to accomplish it, that the nation still remains in a worse plight than during the restoration. We need only remark the neglect and oblivion to which the heroes of July, the fighting men of the revolution, have been consigned by all parties, but more particularly by their own, to judge of the value at which their services now are appreciated. The decoration of July is seldom worn, and, when seen, is more likely to excite a sneer than to create a favorable impression of the wearer.

Without any pretensions to the research or talents of an historian, it is simply presumed that a collection of anecdotes not generally known in England, and originally preserved in the shape of a journal, may produce some amusement if not information to the reader. In the relation of these events truth has been invariably consulted, and though some political reflexions may occasionally intrude, the chief object has been to describe the moral effects which this revolution has produced on

the social system in France, rather than on the political, with which the generality of readers must be acquainted.

To commence with the ordinances dated from St. Cloud, which will be handed down to posterity as the fatal cause of the expulsion from France of the Bourbons, a spirit of impartiality must allow that the delinquency of the King did not so much consist in the despotic nature of the edicts themselves, as in the unconstitutional mode in which he attempted to force them upon the nation. This truth has become so much the more self evident since, when the present government had recourse to the laws of September, a much more serious encroachment on the press, and on the liberties of the subject, than the ordinances of July, but which, being carried by the Chambers, left no handle for a constitutional resistance.

The blindness of Charles X. in promulgating these perhaps to him necessary regulations in the shape of a *coup d'etat*, was the more inexcusable, because he had long been confidentially warned by all the foreign cabinets, that in his precarious position, if he went beyond the limits of the law, his discomfiture would be inevitable, and their interference impossible.

The very wording of these ordinances prove that he was well aware of the exasperation and animosity by which he was surrounded, and that by thus deviating from the spirit, if not the letter of the charter, he was furnishing additional arms against himself, of which his unrelenting enemies would eagerly rush forward to avail themselves. The factious spirit of certain republican writers, the wounded vanity of a few rich *parvenus*, and the disappointed pretensions of those whom the government had slighted, united together in forming a band of malcontents, whose vengeance could only be satisfied by the subversion of the monarchy.

The licentious freedom of the press, urged on by this small but active party in the State, had arrived at such a pitch that the government was compelled in self defence to take some serious means of repressing the evil.—The following copy of the King's manifesto to his subjects details at once the danger which menaced the throne, and the measures deemed necessary to counteract them. It is not inserted as a clever, or well written State paper, but it shows the fearful apprehensions under which the Court was labouring at the time,

apprehensions which were soon to be for them so unhappily realized.

From the Moniteur of Monday, July 26th, 1830.

REPORT TO THE KING.

"SIRE,

Your ministers would little deserve the confidence with which your Majesty honours them if they delayed any longer in laying before your Majesty a sketch of our internal situation, and in directing the attention of your exalted wisdom to the dangers from the periodical press.

At no period for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and more afflicting aspect. In spite of a material prosperity of which our annals never offered an example, tokens of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom.

The successive causes which have concurred to weaken the springs of the monarchical

government, now tend to impair and change its nature; deprived of their moral force, the authorities both in the capital and the provinces have to maintain an unequal struggle against the factious, pernicious, and subversive doctrines, openly professed, spread and propagated throughout all classes of the people. Apprehensions too generally admitted agitate the public mind and torment society. In all directions pledges are demanded upon the present for security for the future.

An active, ardent and indefatigable malevolence labours to sap all the foundations of order and to rob France of the happiness which she enjoys under the sceptre of her kings.—Skilled in taking advantage of every discontent, and in exciting hatred, it foments among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards the government, and endeavours every where to sow the seeds of discord and civil war.—And already, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions confined hitherto to the higher classes of society begin to penetrate among the lower classes, and to act upon the masses of the people.—They have also proved that these masses would never be set in agitation without danger to those even

who labour to draw them from their state of tranquillity.

A multitude of facts collected during the electoral proceedings confirm these data, and would afford us the too certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your Majesty to avert the calamity. Every where also, if it be attentively observed, there exists a want of order, strength and permanence, and the agitations which seem the most contrary thereto, are in reality merely the expression and testimony thereof.

This must be admitted. These agitations which cannot encrease without great peril to the State, are almost exclusively produced and excited by the freedom of the press. A law upon the elections, not less productive of disorders, has no doubt concurred in cherishing them; but it would be denying evidence not to perceive in the journals the principal focus of a corruption, the progress of which becomes daily more sensible, and the first source of the calamities which threaten the kingdom.

Experience, Sire, speaks louder than theories. Men, enlightened no doubt, and whose good intentions are not to be suspected, misled by the ill understood example of a

neighbouring nation, may have believed that the advantages of the periodical press would counterbalance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by opposite excesses. This has not been the case.—The proof is decisive, and the question is now decided in the public mind.

At all times, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is its nature to be, only an instrument of disorder and sedition.

How many irrefragable proofs may be adduced in support of this truth! It is by the violent and uninterrupted action of the press that the sudden and frequent changes of our internal policy are explained. It has prevented the establishment of a steady and regular system of government in France, as well as of continued attention being devoted to the introduction of the ameliorations of which all the branches of the public administration are susceptible.—All the administrations since 1814, although formed under divers influences, and subject to opposite directions have been exposed to the same shafts, to the same attacks, and to the same rage of passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, party alliances, nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

This circumstance alone so fertile in reflections would suffice to assign to the press its real and invariable character. It endeavours by steady persevering efforts repeated every day to loosen all the ties of obedience and subordination, to wear out the springs of public authority, to lower and vilify it in the opinion of the people, and to throw in its way every where embarrassments and obstacles.

Its art consists not in substituting for a too easy submission of mind a prudent freedom of examination, but in reducing to a problem the most positive truths; not in exciting upon political questions a candid and useful controversy, but in presenting them in a false light, and resolving them by sophisms.

Thus the press has thrown disorder into the most upright minds, shaken the firmest convictions, and produced in the midst of society a confusion of principles which tend to the most fatal attempts. It is by anarchy in doctrines that it preludes to anarchy in the State.

It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition, that of publicity.—What is strange but true, is, that there is no publicity in France in the just and strict acceptance of

the word. In the actual state of things, facts, when they are not entirely suppositious, come to the knowledge of several millions of readers, curtailed, distorted and mutilated in the most odious manner. A thick cloud, raised by the journals, veils the truth, and interrupts, as it were, the light between the government and the people. The Kings, your predecessors, Sire, always delighted in communicating with their subjects. This is a pleasure which the press would not allow your Majesty to enjoy.

A licentiousness, which has exceeded all bounds, has not in fact respected, even on the most solemn occasions, either the expressed will of the King, or the words spoken from the throne. The one has been misrepresented and disfigured, the others have been made the subjects of perfidious comments or bitter derision.

Thus it was, that the last act of the Royal power, the proclamation was disparaged in the public mind before it was known by the electors.

This is not all. The press aims at nothing less than subjugating the Sovereignty, and invading the powers of the State. Pretending to be the organ of public opinion, it aspires

at directing the debates of the two Chambers, and it is incontestable, that it carries thither the weight of an influence as fatal as it is decisive. This domination has assumed, especially within two or three years, an evident character of oppression and tyranny in the Chamber of Deputies. During that space of time, the journals have been seen persecuting with their insults and outrages those members, whose vote appeared to them uncertain or suspicious. Too often, Sire, the liberty of the deliberations in that Chamber has fallen under the repeated blows of the press.

The conduct of the Opposition Journals on a recent occasion cannot be qualified by terms less severe. After having themselves given rise to an address infringing upon the prerogatives of the Crown, they did not fear to set up as a principle the re-election of the 221 Deputies from whom it proceeded. Yet your Majesty has repelled this address as insulting; you cast a public censure upon the refusal of concurrence expressed therein; you declared your immoveable resolution to defend the rights of your Crown so openly compromised. The periodical papers paid no attention to it; on the contrary they endeavoured to perpetuate

and aggravate the offence.—Your Majesty will decide whether this rash act is to remain unpunished any longer.

But of all the excesses of the press the most serious perhaps remains to be signalised. From the very beginning of the expedition the glory of which reflects so pure and durable a lustre upon the noble crown of France, the press criticised with unheard of violence the motives, the means, the preparations, and the chances of success. Insensible to the national honour it was not dependant upon *it*, that our flag did not remain stained with the insult of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity it would have allowed Europe to continue subject to a system of cruel slavery and to a degrading tribute.

This was not enough. By a treachery which our laws could not reach, the periodical press took pains to publish abroad the secrets of the armament, and to acquaint the foreigner with the state of our forces, the number of our troops, that of our ships, the points of their station, and the means to be employed for overcoming the inconstancy of the winds, and approaching the coast.—All, even the plan for effecting the landing was divulged, as if to furnish the enemy with a more certain de-

fence.—And what is without example in a civilized nation, the press, by false alarms on the perils to be encountered, did not fear to cast discouragement into the army, and holding up to their hatred even the Commander of the expedition, excited as it were the soldiers to raise against him the standard of rebellion, or to desert their colours. This is what the organs of a party which styles itself national has dared to do.

What it dares to do every day in the interior of the kingdom tends to nothing short of dispersing the elements of the public peace, of dissolving the bonds of society, and (let it not be mistaken) of making the very soil quake beneath our feet. Let us not fear to reveal here the full extent of our ills in order to be able better to appreciate the full extent of our resources. A systematic defamation organised on a large scale, and directed with unexampled perseverance attacks in every direction all even the most humble agents of the government. Not one of your subjects, Sire, is sheltered from insult, if he receive from his sovereign the slightest mark of confidence or satisfaction. An immense net spread over France envelops all the public functionaries; placed in a state of permanent accusation they appear as it

were cut off from civil society; none but those whose fidelity wavers are spared; none but those whose fidelity yields are praised; the others are marked by the faction, for the purpose, no doubt, of being hereafter sacrificed to popular vengeance.—The periodical press has not been less ardent in persecuting with its envenomed shafts religion and her priests. It wishes, and will always wish, to root out from the heart of the people even the last germ of religious sentiments.

Sire, doubt not but it will succeed, by attacking the foundations of the faith, by impairing the sources of public morals, and by heaping with an unsparing hand, derision and contempt upon the ministers of the altars.

No force it must be confessed can resist a dissolvent so energetic as the press. At all periods when freed from its shackles, it has made an irruption, an invasion upon the State. We cannot but be singularly struck by the similitude of its effects for these fifteen years, notwithstanding the diversity of circumstances, and the change of men who have appeared on the political stage. Its destiny, in one word, is to commence the revolution, the principles of which it openly proclaims. Placed and replaced at several intervals under the yoke of

the censorship, it has as often resumed its liberty only to pursue again its interrupted object. In order to continue it with more success, it has found an active auxiliary in the departmental press, which by rousing local jealousies and hatred, casting alarm into the minds of the timid, and harrassing the authorities with endless chicanery, has exercised an almost decisive influence upon the elections.—

These last effects, Sire, are transitory, but more durable effects are apparent in the manners and character of the nation.—An ardent, faithless and passionate controversy, the school of scandal and licentiousness, produces in all classes a sad and awful change; it gives a false direction to the public mind, fills it with prejudices, diverts it from serious studies, and thus checks the progress of the arts and sciences; excites among us a constantly encreasing fermentation; keeps up even in the bosom of families the most pernicious dissensions; and might by degrees lead us back to a state of barbarism.

Against so many evils engendered by the periodical press, law and justice are equally reduced to confess their complete impotency. It would be superfluous to enquire into the causes that have weakened the hand of power,

and rendered it a useless weapon on the behalf of government. It is sufficient for us to cite experience, and set forth the present state of things.

Judicial habits lend themselves with difficulty to acts of efficacious repression. This truth had long flashed upon well disposed minds, and it has lately acquired a more decisive character. To satisfy the objects in view, repression ought to be prompt and powerful, but it has proved to be tardy, weak, and almost null. When it has interposed the mischief has been accomplished, and far from proving a remedy, punishment has only added to the scandal of the proceedings.

Judicial prosecution grows weary, but the press never becomes tired. The one halts because it has too much to chastise, the other encreases in strength as its delinquencies are multiplied.

Under various circumstances prosecution has had its periods of activity or of relaxation. But what does it matter to the press whether the public prosecutor is on the alert or not. It only seeks by redoubling its own excesses to secure to itself impunity.

The insufficiency or rather the inutility of the precautions established by the laws now

in force, is demonstrated by facts. It is equally demonstrated by facts that the public safety has been endangered by the licentiousness of the press. It is time—it is full time to put a stop to its ravages.

Listen, Sire, to that prolonged cry of indignation and alarm, which proceeds from every part of your kingdom. Peaceable and well disposed men, the friends of order, raise their supplicating hands towards your Majesty. They all implore you to preserve them from calamities similar to those which their fathers or themselves have had to mourn. These alarms are too well founded not to be listened to; these prayers are too legitimate not to be granted.

The sole means of satisfying them is *to return to the Charter*. If the terms of Article 8,* are ambiguous, its spirit is manifest. It is certain that the Charter has not granted uncontrolled freedom to the journals and other

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* Art. 8.—All Frenchmen have the right to publish and print their opinions, so as they conform to the laws instituted to repress the abuses of this liberty. The Laws on the liberty of the press are 21st October 1814, —9th November, 1815,—28th February, 1817.—17th and 26th March, 1819.—25th March, 1822.—The Laws respecting journals and periodical writings are 25th March, 1817.—9th June, 1819.—31st March 1820.—25th July, 1821.—17th March, 1822.

periodical publications.—The right of publishing personal opinions, surely does not imply the right of promulgating by way of enterprise, the opinions of others. The one is the exercise of a faculty, which the law may have left entirely free, or have subjected to restrictions; the other is a mercantile speculation, which like others or even more than others implies the *surveillance* of public authority.

The intentions of the Charter on this subject are fully explained by the law of the 21st of October 1814,* which is as it were an appendix to it; this is rendered less doubtful from its having been presented to the Chambers on the 5th of July, that is within one month after the promulgation of the Chamber. In 1829, at the period even when a contrary system prevailed in the Chambers, it was loudly proclaimed that the periodical press was not ruled by the provision of Article 8. This truth is further attested by the very laws, that have imposed upon the journals the condition of making a deposit as security.

Now, therefore, Sire, it only remains to be

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* See Note to 2nd article of the 1st Ordinance.

enquired how the return to the Charter, and the Law of the 21st October, 1814, is to be effected. The gravity of the present conjuncture has resolved this question.

We must not deceive ourselves. We are no longer in the ordinary conditions of the representative government.—The principles upon which it was established no longer remain entire in the midst of political vicissitudes.—A turbulent democracy which has penetrated even into our laws, threatens to substitute itself for the legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of elections by means of these journals and by the concurrence of numerous affiliated societies.—It has paralysed, as far as it was able, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the Crown, that of dissolving the elective Chamber.—Thereby the very constitution of the state has been shaken. Your Majesty alone retains the power of fixing and re-establishing it firmly upon its basis.—The right as well as the duty of securing the maintenance of it is the inseparable attribute of sovereignty. No government on earth would remain standing, if it had not the right of providing for its own safety. This power is pre-existent to the laws, because it is in the nature of things.—These, Sire, are maxims which

have the sanction of time, and the avowal of every publicist in Europe. But these maxims have another sanction, still more positive, that of the Charter itself. The 14th Article* has invested your Majesty with sufficient power, not certainly to change our institutions but to consolidate them and render them more immutable. Imperious necessities admit no longer of delay in the exercise of this supreme power. The moment has arrived, when recourse must be had to measures, which are within the spirit of the Charter, but which are without the bounds of legal order, the resources of which have been uselessly exhausted.—These measures, Sire, your ministers, to whom it belongs to insure their success, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are, that strength will remain with justice.

We are with the most profound respect,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's

Most humble and faithful Subjects,

The President of the Council of Ministers,

"PRINCE DE POLIGNAC."

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* Art. 14.—The King is the supreme Chief of the State—commands the land and sea forces, declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, nominates to all offices in the public administration, and makes the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the Laws and the safety of the State.

The Keeper of the Seals of France, Minister of Justice,

" CHANTELAUZE."

The Minister and Secretary of State for the Marine and Colonies,

" BARON D' HAUSSEZ."

The Minister Secretary of State for the Interior,

" COUNT DE PEYRONNET."

The Minister Secretary of State for the Finances.

" MONTBEL."

The Minister Secretary of State for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction,

" COUNT DE GUERNON RANVILLE."

The Minister Secretary of State for Public Works.

" BARON CAPELLE."

ORDINANCES OF THE KING.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting; upon the report of our Council of Ministers, we have ordained and do ordain, as follows:—

ART. 1. The liberty of the periodical press is suspended.

2. The provisions of Articles, 1, 2, and 9, of the first chapter of the Law of the 21st, October 1814, are again put in force.

"Consequently no journal or writing whether periodical or semi-periodical established or to be hereafter established, without any distinction as to the matters that may be treated therein can henceforth appear, either in Paris or in the departments, but in virtue of an authorisation which the writers and printers separately shall have obtained from us.—This authorisation must be renewed every three months. It may be revoked.

Art. 3. This authorisation may be provisionally granted and provisionally withdrawn by the Prefects from such journals, and periodical or semi-periodical writings, as are published, or shall hereafter be published in the departments.

4. All journals and writings published in violation of Article 2, shall be immediately seized.

The presses and type that may have been employed in them shall be placed in a public depôt under seal, or be put out of service.

Art. 5. No writing under 20 sheets of letter press can appear without the authorisation of our Minister Secretary of State for the Interior at Paris, or of the Prefects in the departments.

Every writing of more than 20 sheets of letter press which does not constitute one and the same work shall likewise be subject to the necessity of being authorised.

Writings published without authority shall be immediately seized. The presses and type that may have been employed in printing them shall be placed in a public depôt, under seal, or put out of service.

6. Memoirs on legal proceedings, and memoirs of scientific and literary societies are subjected to the previous authorisation, if they treat entirely, or in part of political matters, in which case the measures prescribed by Art. 5, shall be applicable to them.

7. All provisions contrary to these presents shall remain without effect.

8. The execution of the present ordinance shall take place in conformity

to Art. 4, of the ordinance of the 27th November, 1816, and to what is prescribed by that of the 18th January, 1817.

Art. 9. Our Ministers Secretaries of State are charged with the execution of these presents.

Given at our Palace of St. Cloud, July 25th. A.D. 1830, and in the sixth year of our reign.

CHARLES.

By the King.

The President of the Council of Ministers,
" PRINCE DE POLIGNAC."

The Keeper of the Seals, Minister Secretary of State for the department of Justice,
" CHANTELAUZE."

The Minister Secretary of State for the Interior,
" COUNT DE PEYRONNET."

The Minister Secretary of State for the Marine and Colonies.
" BARON D' HAUSSEZ."

The Minister Secretary of State for the Finances,
" MONTBEL."

The Minister Secretary of State for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction,
" COUNT DE GUERNON RANVILLE."

The Minister Secretary of State for Public Works.
" BARON CAPELLE."

Charles, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre.

To all to whom these presents shall come greeting :—

Considering Art. 50 of the Constitutional Charter.

Being informed of the manœuvres which have been practised at several points of our Kingdom to deceive and mislead the Electors during the late proceedings of the Electoral Colleges,

Our Council being heard,

We have ordained and do ordain.

Art. 1. The Chamber of the Deputies of the Department is dissolved.

2. Our Minister Secretary of State for the Interior, is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

Given at St. Cloud, July 25, 1830, and in the sixth year of our reign.

CHARLES.

By the King.

The Minister Secretary of State for the Interior,

"COUNT DE PEYRONNET."

Charles by the grace of God, &c., &c.

Having resolved to prevent the return of the manœuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence upon the late proceedings of the Electoral Colleges.

Wishing consequently to reform according to the principles of the Constitutional Charter the rules of Election, the inconvenience of which has been proved by experience.

We have felt the necessity of exercising the right which appertains to us, to provide by acts emanating from us, for the safety of the State, and the repression of any enterprise leading to attempts against the dignity of our Crown.

For these causes,

Our council being heard,

We have ordained and do ordain—

ART. 1. Conformably to Articles 15, 36, and 50, of the Constitutional Charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall be composed only of Deputies of Departments.

2. The amount of taxes qualifying to become an Elector, and that to become a Deputy shall exclusively consist of the sums for which the Elector

and the Candidate to become a Deputy shall be personally inscribed as proprietor, or as being entitled to the usufruct, in the registers of the land tax, and the personal and furniture tax.

Art. 3. Each department shall have the number of Deputies assigned to it by Art. 36 of the Constitutional Charter.

4. The Deputies shall be elected, and the Chamber renewed in the form and for the time fixed by Art. 37, of the Constitutional Charter.

5. The Electoral Colleges shall be divided into Colleges of Arrondissement and Colleges of Department. Such Electoral Colleges of Departments as return only one Deputy are however excepted.

6. The Electoral Colleges of Arrondissement shall consist of all Electors whose political residence shall be fixed in the Arrondissement.—The Electoral Colleges of Departments shall consist of the fourth part of the

Electors in the department, who pay the greatest amount of taxes.

Art. 7. The actual circumscription of the Electoral Colleges of Arrondissements is maintained.

8. Each Electoral College of Arrondissement shall elect a number of Candidates equal to the number of Deputies of Department.

9. The College of Arrondissement shall be divided into as many sections as there are Candidates to be appointed. This division shall be made in proportion to the numbers of the sections, and the total numbers of the Electors of the Colleges, taking into consideration as much as possible the convenience and suitableness of the locality and the neighbourhood.

10. The sections of the Electoral College of Arrondissement may be assembled in different places.

11. Each section of the Electoral College of Arrondissement shall elect a Candidate and proceed separately.

Art. 12. The Presidents of the sections of the Electoral College of Arrondissement shall be nominated by the Prefects from among the Electors of the Arrondissement.

13. The College of Department shall elect the Deputies.
One half of the Deputies of the Department shall be chosen from the general list of Candidates proposed by the Colleges of Arrondissement. Nevertheless if the number of the Deputies of the Department be uneven, the division shall be made without any diminution of the right reserved to the College of the Department.

14. In case that by omission, or by cancelled or two-fold nominations the list of Candidates proposed by the Colleges of Arrondissement should be incomplete; if this list be reduced below half the number required, the College of Department may elect one Deputy more not on the list; if this list be reduced to below one fourth, the College of Department may elect

the total number of the Deputies of the Department, without any reference to those on the list.

Art. 15. The Prefects, the Sub-Prefects, and the General Officers commanding military divisions, and the Departments, cannot be elected in the departments where they exercise their functions.

16. The list of Electors shall be determined by the Prefect in the Council of Prefecture. It shall be posted up five days previous to the meeting of the Colleges.

17. Appeals with respect to the right of voting, which shall not have been allowed by the Prefects shall be decided by the Chamber of Deputies, at the same time that it shall resolve upon the validity of the proceedings of the Electoral Colleges.

18. In the Electoral Colleges of Department the two senior Electors and the two Electors who pay the greatest amount of taxes shall fill the office of Scrutators—or Scrutineers.

The same regulation shall be observed in the Sections of such College of Arrondissement as is composed of more than fifty Electors.

In the other sections of College the functions of Scrutineers shall be performed by the senior and the most heavily taxed Elector. The Secretary shall be nominated in the College of the Sections by the President and the Scrutineers.

Art. 19. No one shall be admitted into the College, or section of College unless he is inscribed upon the list of the Electors of which he is to form a part. This list shall be transmitted to the President and shall remain posted up in the place, where the sittings of the College shall be held, during the whole of its proceedings.

20. All discussion and deliberation whatever shall be interdicted at the meetings of the Electoral Colleges.

21. The police of the College belongs to the President. No armed force shall, without being called for by him, be stationed near the place of

meeting. All Military Commanders shall be bound to obey his requisitions.

Art. 22. The nominations shall be made in the Colleges and sections of Colleges by the absolute majority of votes given.

Nevertheless if the nominations are not decided after two ballots, the President and other officers shall make a list of such Candidates, as obtained the greatest number of votes at the second ballot. This list shall contain names double in number to that of the nominations remaining to be made. At the third ballot, notes can be given to such persons only as are inscribed upon the list, and the nominations shall be decided by the relative majority.

23. The Electors shall vote by bulletins from the list.—Each bulletin shall contain as many names as there are nominations to be made.

24. The Electors shall write their votes at the bureau, or shall have them written by one of the Scrutineers.

Art. 25. The name, qualification, and residence of each Elector who shall deposit his bulletin, shall be inscribed by the Secretary on a list destined to establish the number of the voters.

26. Each ballot shall remain open for six hours, and shall be examined during the sitting.

27. Minutes of each sitting shall be drawn up and signed by the President and the other officers.

28. Conformably to Art. 46, of the Constitutional Charter, no amendment can be made in any law in the Chamber unless it has been proposed or consented to by us, and unless it has been referred to, and discussed in the bureaus of the Chamber.

29. All provisions contrary to the present ordinance shall remain without effect.

30. Our Ministers Secretaries of State are charged with the execution of the present ordinances.

Given at St. Cloud, July 25th, 1830, and in the sixth year of our reign.

CHARLES.

This ordinance is countersigned by all the Ministers whose names appear at the foot of the first ordinance.

Charles by the grace of God, &c., &c.

Considering the royal ordinances of this day's date, relative to the organization of the Electoral Colleges.

Upon the report of our Minister Secretary of State for the Department of the Interior,

We have ordained, and do ordain as follows;—

Art. 1. The Electoral Colleges shall meet, namely;—the Electoral Colleges of Arrondissement on the 6th of September next, and the Electoral Colleges of Departments on the 13th of the said month.

2. The Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments are convoked for the 28th of September next.

3. Our Minister Secretary of State for the Interior is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

Given at our Palace of St. Cloud, July 25th A.D. 1830, and in the sixth year of our reign,

CHARLES.

By the King,

The Minister Secretary of State for the Interior.

"COUNT DE PEYRONNET."

On Sunday the 25th of July the Ministers arrived at St. Cloud, a council was held, and the ordinances were signed. There was a vague impression in the Palace that some extraordinary measures were in agitation, oblique hints had been thrown out by those who were in the secret, but what their nature was, or to what extent they might be carried, was a subject of mere conjecture, though not unmixed with anxiety to the inmates. In the morning a General Officer was in waiting at the door of the King's closet; he saw a bishop of his acquaintance pass through the anteroom, who had just had an audience with his Majesty. The General took his hand in a significant manner, and made enquiries after his health. The only reply which he received from the Prelate was—

"The fact is, if you do not support us, all will go wrong."

"But, Monseigneur, if follies are to be committed, you must not count upon the army."

"How do you mean—but the guards."

"Not more upon the guards than on the line. If the officers remained true, their soldiers would desert them."

"In that case all will go wrong."

With these words they parted.

This was the first ominous hint that awakened general suspicion, but the unembarrassed manner of the Sovereign, the total absence of all military precautions, and the tranquil aspect of public affairs at home, which had lately assumed a more than usually favorable appearance on account of the successful expedition to Algiers, combined to allay any serious apprehensions of immediate danger. The ministers returned to Paris, carrying with them the ordinances signed in due form by the King. At five o'clock in the afternoon M. Sauvo chief editor of the Moniteur received the very unusual order to repair punctually at eleven o'clock that night to the hotel of the Keeper of the Seals.

On his arrival thither, M. de Chantelauze handed over to him the ordinances and the report to the King, with directions that they should be inserted in the Moniteur on the following morning. M. Sauvo evinced considerable emotion on perusing these documents, his voice seemed to falter at particular passages, and M. de Montbel, who was present, remarking his agitation said in an enquiring tone, " Well!—God preserve the King!"

"May God preserve France," replied M. Sauvo.

"So do we hope and trust," added the two ministers.

M. Sauvo then retiring from the room, added, "Gentlemen, I am now fifty years old, I have witnessed all the events of the revolution, and I confess that I leave your presence with a mind full of awful apprehension for the future."

He closed the door, and the die was cast.

On the Monday morning Charles X. with the view of avoiding all further comments as to the ordinances, or perhaps to divert his mind from the intrusion of any unpleasant reflexions, commanded the necessary arrangements to be made for a hunting party at Rambouillet. Instead of setting off at his usual hour of nine o'clock, the horses were ordered at the early hour of seven; long before it was possible that the Moniteur of that morning could arrive at St. Cloud. Instead of returning home at nine or ten in the evening, as had been his constant habit, it was past midnight before the royal party returned to the palace. The chase was dull and tedious, the King thoughtful and absent.

Notwithstanding the fineness of the weather it was long before the hounds could find their game, and even then, the stag was unwilling to show any sport, he made repeated turnings and windings, till at last the slot was lost. The King appeared to take no interest in this his most favorite amusement, he rode on seemingly absorbed in thought, and when one of the huntsmen pointed out to his majesty some broken branches in the forest, as an indication of the track which the animal had taken, he listened without attention, and made no comment. The courtiers, who were in total ignorance of the promulgation of the ordinanees, made every effort to amuse the King, and dispel the gloom which was hourly beeoming more contagious; all was in vain, the whole party lost in eonjectures, abandoned as hopeless all attempts to remove the King's depression of spirits.

The Marshal Duc de Raguse had passed the evening in Paris, and did not return till late to St. Cloud, shortly before the arrival of the King from Rambouillet. The first question which was put to him by his Majesty was,—"What is the news in Paris?"

"Much apprehension, Sire, much anxiety, and a serious fall in the public funds."

"To what extent have the Rentes been affected?" asked the Dauphin.

"From four to five per cent."

The Prince then added, "They will soon recover."

The King gave the pass word to the officer in waiting, and all retired to rest.

Charles X. was surrounded by those, who constantly urged him to adopt strong and energetic measures in defence of his prerogative; and the licentiousness of the press, which had arrived at an unparallelled degree of audacity, gave a too ready justification to the arguments of these counsellors. He himself had no intention to violate the Charter, he was fully persuaded that Article 14, gave him full powers to exercise this last stretch of authority. It had become a sort of mode of paying court to the King, to keep constantly before his eyes the necessity of exercising this right, and, with that view, to expatiate on the dangers which menaced the throne, not only from secret machinations, but from open conspiracy. The King himself was strongly impressed with these ideas.

From the time that he had taken that decided religious turn, which the French have characterised by the term *devot;* every thing

was referred by him to a standard of faith; and the ministers of religion availing themselves of this bias in his mind, were not backward in suggesting the rewards and punishments of a future state, as the proper guides of his political conduct upon earth. They raised up scruples as to the propriety of toleration, and other religious dispensations contained in the Charter; they represented the liberty of the press, particularly in its present stage of licentiousness, as incompatible with the dictates of religion; they made him restless and uneasy as to the state of his soul; they dwelt upon his awful responsibility, as a christian, for thirty-two millions of souls, confided to his charge; they invoked his piety, the recollections of his ancestors, and said to him with a warning voice—"Eldest son of the Church, when will you render to the Church, that which is due to the Church?"

This was at once to attack him on his most vulnerable side.

The courtiers generally speaking were averse to any sudden *coup d'etat*, or violent measures, which might compromise the existing order of things, under which many of them held very lucrative posts of honor. In this class however were to be found men of illustrious birth

and independent character, who were warmly attached to the King, but at the same time disdained to flatter his foibles; men of sound intellect, who aspired to no footing of intimacy with the sovereign, from an innate conviction that all familiarity with princes, which under no circumstances can be reciprocal, must only tend to place the subject, who seeks that distinction, in a position derogatory to his own dignity. These men, though never swerving from the line of respectful duty, were extremely guarded in showing the slightest complacency for, or acquiescence in the political and religious tenets of the King. With such men it is natural to suppose that Charles X. could never feel himself perfectly at ease; he esteemed them, he treated them with distinction, he felt a respect for their character, but he did not seek their society; he did not open his mind confidentially to them; he did not place them on the list of those, whose constant attendance was necessary to his own happiness and comfort. He would at times attempt to sound their opinion indirectly as to his future projects, and very often with considerable address; but at the very first symptom of dissent, he would suddenly break off the conversation, under the apprehension that he might discover what was

passing in his own mind, or what he perhaps equally dreaded, be drawn into a lengthy discussion. There was nothing in fact that the King disliked so much as argument, a long and serious conversation wearied him, objections embarrassed him, and he never could be induced to discuss any political subject, except with those, who were of the same opinion with himself.

The excesses of the daily press had passed all bounds of decency and legal restraint, treason and rebellion were openly advocated in the columns of the National; this paper conducted by M. M. Thiers, Mignet and Armand Carrell, men of decided talent, but of no station or importance in the country, had hoisted the standard of revolution in open defiance to the Monarchy. Let those who so readily blame the ordinances of July first consider the language which daily issued from this hot-bed of sedition, it was not the language of discontent, or the complainings of men suffering under tyranny, it was a straitforward undisguised excitement to revolt and high treason. It was a language which threw down the gauntlet, and placed no alternative before the throne, but severe reprisal, or abject abdication. The co-existence of the two powers had

become incompatible. Holding out to public example their favorite theme, the revolution in England of 1688, which had no analogy whatever with the principles of that, which they were labouring to foment, these turbulent editors did not scruple at once to proclaim the downfall of the Monarchy. When arraigned by the Quotidienne for the promulgation of these revolutionary maxims, the National replied, " We are not revolutionists; a change of dynasty is not a revolution; and England was so far from being revolutionary in 1688, that she placed on the throne the nearest relation of James the 2nd." This was the invariable tendency of that paper from the first hour that it was submitted to the superintendence of M. Thiers, and it may be supposed what scandal was created in the minds of the more sober part of the community by such language.

M. Laffitte whose mortified vanity had long writhed under the coolness of the Court, and the barrier which since the restoration had existed between the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Germain, and those of the Chaussée d'Antin was one of the most earnest agitators of this forthcoming contest. The face of Parisian society had undergone a change, the old

nobility, the high names of France now occupied the avenues to the throne, the distinctions of birth and family were revived, and the great banker of the Empire found little consideration in the *Salons* of the legitimate aristocracy. A play was produced some short time before at the Theâtre Français, called *Les trois Quartiers*, it gave an amusing description of the feuds, which existed between the three castes or classes of society in Paris, the nobles, the millionaires, and the tradesmen. But as M. Laffitte was unable to brook the distinction which separated him from the noble faubourg, with the same feelings of complacency, with which he viewed his own preeminence over the more modest inmate of the Rue St. Denis, he waged war at once with the whole system and entered eagerly into all the plans of the discontented. His drawing-rooms became the central point of their assemblies, the pretensions of the Duke of Orleans were there openly discussed, and all who expressed a sanguine wish for another æra of 1688, were received with open arms at Laffitte's hotel in the Rue d' Artois. This party was composed of a few men of rank, who were in disgrace at court; of many rich commercialists who were, like their host, disgusted with the secondary station

assigned to them by the Restoration; some editors of newspapers, and men of letters, who had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain by the employment of their talents in working out a scene of movement and confusion. These latter had previously figured as members of the Societies, *Les Amis de la Presse*, and *Aide toi le ciel t'aidera*, they were the most stirring, the most active, and the most determined partisans of a new order of things. They held up the Duke as a *point de mire*, but did nothing for him in reality.

Lafayette disdained these timid expressions; the æra of 1688 would not answer his purpose; nothing would content him short of a Republic, and the reestablishment of the National guard; he saw little of the Duke of Orleans, generally excused himself from going to his house, which, from the known sentiments of Lafayette, rather coincided with the wishes of the Prince himself.

Laffitte, on the contrary, was an assiduous visitor at the Palais Royal; he received the Duke frequently at his own house, and greeted him from time to time with the salutation of the Witches to Macbeth,—"All hail! that shalt be king hereafter."

Thiers went not to the Palais Royal, he

contented himself with accelerating the march of affairs, and said before those who were likely to report it in the proper quarter, "Proposals will probably be made to the Prince; let him beware of listening to them, and above all of taking any active part; it is not for him to put himself forward, let him leave the work to us. Let him wait the course of events. It is our part to prepare the road for him."

These suggestions, whether they ever reached the ear of the Duke or not, could not be considered otherwise than conformable to his own tastes. He was no conspirator himself, or ever encouraged others in their plans of rebellion, but he also had read the history of England, and with this imaginary guide before his eyes, combining itself with the views of passing events, he could not defend himself from the impression that the elder branch was gradually approaching the abyss, which had proved so fatal to the Stuarts. To say the truth he did not feel for them that affection, which would prompt him to plunge into one common ruin with them. A hostile feeling, which had commenced so far back as the time of the Regency, which had ripened into a mortal and bitter enmity during the Revolu-

tion, then renewed in 1815 by the vacillating conduct of the Congress at Vienna, and embittered during the Restoration by a most opposite system of politics, had completely estranged the two branches of the family from each other. At the time of these sinister events that feeling existed in all its force, though it must be allowed that much had been done by the elder branch to effect a reconciliation. It has been asserted by some of his adherents, that if the Duke had been capable of acting with real premeditated perfidy towards the royal family, he might indirectly have counselled and urged them to adopt those fatal measures, which ended in their downfall; but his position and intimacy with the Court was not of a nature to afford him the opportunity of suggesting this pernicious counsel.—

On the contrary he kept himself aloof, and always attempted to separate not only his interests, but his personality, as widely as possible from that of the reigning family. He loudly expressed his disapprobation of their acts, and then would add with a semblance of regret—"Mais! c'est que les Bourbons ont toujours fait comme ça!" His opposition never went beyond that point, he had an intimate conviction that in many minds he was marked

out for the Crown; his numerous adherents were not idle in aiding the suggestion; and he received their hints with silence, but with complacency. He always bore in his recollection that his accession to the throne had been once discussed at the Congress of Vienna; he maintained now as he did at that period the same guarded line of conduct; neither consenting nor refusing, waiting the tide of events, and prepared if necessary to undergo with resignation the toils of royalty. By these means he saved appearances, wounded no prejudices, and kept up a becoming intercourse with the royal family; at the same time always retaining his right to reply to any overtures which might be made on the part of the nation hereafter, without laying himself open to the accusation of having acted unfairly towards his own relations.

The circumstances which occurred at the Congress are perhaps not very generally known. That celebrated assembly, which then laid the foundation of the Holy Alliance, was actively employed in settling the boundaries of the different European States, when Bonaparte suddenly made his appearance again in France on the first of March 1815.

This important event gave a new turn to the

deliberations of Congress, which became at once more momentous in counsel, and more rapid in execution. Prince Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, represented France. The Emperor Alexander wished to exclude the Bourbons, who were the source of too much uneasiness to Europe; his proposal was, that all the forces of the coalition should be directed against Bonaparte, and that after his second overthrow, his son should be placed on the throne, who would conciliate the partisans of his father, without being, like him, obnoxious to the peace of Europe. The other powers were coldly disposed towards the Bourbons. As in 1814, they were now far more earnestly bent on the destruction of Bonaparte, who inspired them with fear, than on the re-establishment of the Bourbons, who created very little interest; but the former now excited such additional panic, that they would not even hear of his name, and with one accord rejected the idea of his son. Alexander then proposed the Duke of Orleans, and a letter was dispatched to him on the subject. His reply contained an exposal of his political sentiments, and was couched in nearly the same terms as the letter, which he wrote about the same time to the Marshal Duc de Trevise;

he intimated therein, that if he had quitted France in company with the elder branch, it was not from any attachment to their system, but from a sense of propriety and decorum towards his family; he did not attempt to solicit the Crown, but showed every disposition to accept it, if the Congress should think fit to make such a proposal.

M. de Talleyrand on this occasion impressed on the minds of the legitimate Sovereigns, all the advantages to be derived from legitimacy. He proved to them that the substitution of a younger branch to the elder might furnish a most dangerous precedent to all of them, as there was not one, who might not have brothers, nephews, or cousins in their family, whose interest it might be to form a party against them in the State, and deprive them of their inheritance. This powerful consideration had its weight, and carried the day; Bourbon for Bourbon, the Congress then preferred the elder branch; but this latter never forgave the Duke of Orleans the part which he took in that discussion. The majority in the two Chambers, and indeed of the nation, never wished for a change in the dynasty, and all the efforts which were made to resist certain ill-judged encroachments of the supreme power,

were intended rather to prevent a revolution, than to originate it. The address of the 221, which was a faithful exposition of the wishes of France, had declared to the Constitutional Monarch, that his government must be conducted on principles, in unison with that majority. It warned him of the danger, but it neither created that danger, or felt any sympathy with it.

With regard to the political opinions and the language held by the Duke of Orleans at this period, the following fact will be more explanatory than any thing that can be said on the subject. A literary man had written a work on the American Constitution, and knowing the tendency of the Duke of Orleans's politics, he begged permission to dedicate the book to H. R. H. which was readily granted. On reflexion however it occurred to him that the principles expressed in the publication, as well as the style of the dedication, might perhaps be of a more revolutionary character than the Duke, as a prince of the blood, would like publicly to avow. He therefore thought it right to seek another interview, and express his apprehensions on the subject, offering to modify the same if necessary. Great was his surprise when the Duke replied :—" Ne chan-

gez rien, j' avouerai tout.—Allez! je suis bien plus republicain que vous. Oubliez vous que j'ai vecu en Amerique, j' y ai eté laboureur, fermier, j' en adore la Constitution; avec vous c'est theorie, avec moi c'est pratique."

In 1828. The ministry under Martignac paid great court to the liberal party, in the view either of attaching them to the cause of the Monarchy, or at least of gaining their support, and creating through their means a majority in the Chambers. The greater proportion of the liberals rejected these advances, some because they were already weary of the dynasty, others because they were intent on bringing in a ministry of a more decided and liberal character.

"As for myself," said M. Thiers, "I am for the ministry, and against the dynasty. As we have nothing now wanting to the system, but a King, who will identify himself with it, let us retain the system, and change the King." He had composed various articles for the Constitutional, during the close of the Villele Ministry, and under that of Martignac, which were written completely in that spirit, a spirit ministerial, but anti-dynastic. He professedthese opinions with the most unhesitating boldness, and scrupled not to utter them open-

ly before the most distinguished personages, such as M. M. de Talleyrand, de Chateaubriand, and Royer Collard. The Prince Talleyrand who prized above all things the freedom of thought, and was never known to check the expression of any bold and hardy truths, listened with his impassible countenance to the suppositions of M. Thiers; at times arresting his progress, when drawn into remarks which compromised the reserve of his own position; but always allowing it to be understood, that in his own inward and profound judgment the doom of the elder branch of the Bourbons was irrevocably pronounced. On one of these occasions an expression was attributed to him, which created a considerable sensation. "In 1814 the Bourbons were necessary to the pacification of Europe; at the present day their retirement is necessary to the pacification of France."

M. de Chateaubriand replied to M. Thiers, "Yes, without doubt the Bourbons will fall; all their acts unfortunately tend to that result, but in that event I shall leave France with them."

M. Royer Collard feared that, which M. Thiers desired, he also was aware that the Bourbons were rushing to their fate, but he

saw it with chagrin and with dread; and he would gladly have warned them of their danger, were it only out of regard to the interests of France. One day M. de. Chateaubriand said to M. Royer Collard, "We have done every thing that laid in our power to save them, they have misunderstood us, they have repulsed us, they have allowed us to be calumniated by those who were leading them to their ruin. Well!—When they depart into exile, you and I shall be found among the trifling number of those, who will not desert them, and who will follow their fortunes."

"Speak for yourself," replied M. Royer Collard, "as for me, I shall not leave France, I remain with the nation."

On Monday the 26th of July the ordinances appeared in the Moniteur, they created much speculation not to say apprehension among the thinking part of the Community, but the lower orders apparently received them with comparative indifference. It was the féte of La Vilette. I walked over the boulevards and the faubourgs, all was quiet; the people seemed intent on their amusements, no sinister cloud appeared to foretell the approaching storm. This of

itself may prove, that the lower classes, if well fed and in constant employment, never of their own accord rise up to fight for any abstract political question; but once let the fear of famine stare them in the face, they then become the ready tools of any incendiaries. I continued my walk through the capital, which presented no particular feature; there was not the slightest appearance of agitation either on the Quays, or in the faubourg St. Antoine, whose laborious inhabitants seemed only intent on the enjoyment of their usual pastimes, to which a day of rest during this fine season of the year always invites them. There were crowds of smiling faces about, the contents of the Moniteur were then no secret, but with a Parisian population politics are but a secondary consideration to the pursuit of pleasure.

In the afternoon the Prefect of police Mangin dispatched his emissaries to the principal *messageries* in Paris, with orders to seize all printed publications, which might be forwarded to the provinces in contravention of the new laws; and previous to the appearance of the evening papers the strictest measures were taken by the government to prohibit the circulation of those, which might be issued from

the press, without the new and indispensable licence. Hereupon the owners of all the printing offices made common cause together, they gave the signal of unanimous revolt, and formally protested against the legality of the new regulations. They resolutely determined not to conform themselves to an arbitary mandate, which they loudly asserted was not authorised by the Charter; they encouraged each other, in defence of their own property, to resist even by force any attempt of the government myrmidons to cross their thresholds in search of of the obnoxious publications. They closed their doors, and publicly defied the strong arm of power to violate the rights of the citizen.

Conscious however that such a struggle must ultimately terminate in their own discomfiture, and anxious to extend their own exasperation into as wide a circle as their influence would permit, they called an immediate assemblage of all classes of their workmen, and at once dismissed them from their employment, with these ominous expressions. "We have no longer the means of giving you bread. We shall soon have none left even for ourselves and our families; the press is destroyed, the booksellers are ruined, we have nothing left but to starve."

This class of industry, discarded on Monday night, was the first *nucleus* of the Revolution of July; their sudden dismissal was the first blow given to the feelings of the people, the first alarm of impending want, which excited their fears and apprehensions. So favorable an opportunity of propagating discontent was not lost by those, who had long been watching the tide of events to rise in their favor; the mortified commercialists, and the manufacturers regardless even of their own immediate interests, listening only to the suggestions of a long rankling animosity against the present order of things, now pretended to raise the cry that all property was endangered by these new despotic regulations. The next step towards verifying their own apprehensions was to follow the example of the printers; they also threw out of employment a numerous host of dependants, who saw themselves at once deprived of their accustomed means to provide for their own subsistence, and that of their families. Materials now were not wanting to consummate the work of insurrection, but it is only justice to the population of Paris to say, that even the apprehension of want, and the disappointment of their hopes did not drive them at once to acts of riot and desperation.

The downcast eye and the pensive brow might have been visible in the dejected groups which formed in every quarter to discuss this sudden stroke of adversity. Famine stared them in the face, but only here and there a murmur was uttered against the selfish employer, who had fattened on the fruits of their industry, and then at the first alarm had left them alone to struggle with want and poverty. No act of rebellion against the government was contemplated, till the republicans and the other malcontents availed themselves of the general dismay and apprehension, to fan the flames of sedition, and work upon the passions of the people for their own purposes.

On Tuesday morning the 27th I rose early, and directed my steps to the Palais Royal; on passing down the Rue de Richelieu I saw no symptoms of disturbance. The garden seemed to be more frequented than was usual at that early hour, people were walking to and fro, engaged in earnest discourse, their animated gestures would have excited my remark, if I had not known the national propensity to treat even the most trifling subject with the same energy. I sat down on a bench near the Café de Foy, and had began to read a newspaper, when my attention was suddenly attract-

ed to a group, collected under the opposite trees, and formed in a circle round a young man, mounted on a chair, who was reading aloud the contents of a journal, which he accompanied with the most violent gesticulations. This paper contained the protest of a large body of liberal writers against the new ordinances.

The crowd, though in the origin peaceably disposed, seemed gradually to feel the excitement of the reader, certain passages of a violent nature were cheered, tumultuous cries were heard, and the garden was becoming a scene of uproar, when the gendarmes made their appearance, and notwithstanding a partial but vigorous resistance, succeeded in driving the intruders from the spot. This short episode might have lasted about half an hour, during which, a little old man, dressed in black, was leaning against the iron railing at my side; he appeared earnestly to watch the whole proceedings, and while he gazed on the orator, mounted on the chair, he significantly observed aloud in my hearing—"This commencement is precisely the same as in 1789." I was struck by the expression, as well as by the individual, whose age confirmed his experience of the past, though I was not at the time so

convinced by his prediction, as circumstances afterwards justified. The individuals, who composed this group, being dispersed, they retired through the galleries in a tumultuous manner, crying, " Long live the 221." This was the first spark thrown on the barrel of gunpowder. The tradesmen in the Palais Royal, sensitively alive to their own interest, with one accord began to close their shops, and their neighbours in the adjacent streets soon followed their example.

Here at once was exemplified the fatal error of Charles X. in disbanding the National Guards. Those men, who at this moment simultaneously barred their doors and windows to preserve their property, would now have run to arms to defend it; and, in maintaining their own interests, would have secured that of the monarchy. When M. de Villele dictated this headstrong act to his incautious sovereign, he signed the warrant for his abdication. It is a mistake to imagine that it originated in Charles X. The partial expression of discontent which was shown in the ranks of the National Guard, when reviewed by the King, was directed against that Minister, the cry was—" *A bas Villele*," and he in the evening proposed that fatal measure to his

sovereign, under the plea that no cabinet could exist, if such open acts of insubordination were to be tolerated.

After this trifling commotion in the Palais Royal, on Tuesday, which occurred about ten o'clock, I saw no immediate signs of the public tranquillity being disturbed. I passed the day as usual, but on my return from a visit in the faubourg St. Germain, about six o'clock in the afternoon, as I crossed the Rue de Bussy, I was alarmed by the sight of a party of gendarmes retreating down the Rue Dauphine, and pursued by a considerable multitude, who were abusing and hissing the troops. The shops in that quarter were immediately closed, and a passer by mentioned that the people were then actively engaged in pillaging the stores of the gunsmiths. Returning towards the boulevards, I heard frequent reports of musketry and cannon, the streets of Richelieu and St. Honoré were crowded with passengers, some eager to escape from the encreasing confusion, others evidently anxious to excite the populace and create mischief. A loud cheering was now heard, and a dense body of men appeared, bearing on their shoulders in triumph, an officer of the line, who had commanded his men not to fire upon the people. The poor

man was dreadfully pale, and did not seem much elated by his public ovation.

Anxious to quit this scene of alarm I returned home, but during the whole night partial conflicts were heard to take place in every direction; shots were fired, lamps were broken, windows smashed, and the most hideous cries raised at every moment.

On this day Marshal Marmont was sent by the King to Paris as commander-in-chief of all the troops, with full powers to put down the insurrection by force of arms.

The members of the Chamber of Deputies assembled at the house of M. Casimir Perier, but their proceedings were of no importance, as dismay and confusion were prevalent in every breast.

One of the most open fomenters of the insurrection was M. Audry de Puyraveau, who publicly distributed to the populace in the court of his house two or three hundred muskets and pikes, and voluntarily gave up all the waggons and carriages in his *etablissement de roulage*, to assist in the formation of barricades in the streets against the regular troops. It was a singular circumstance that at this momentous period three of the prominent leaders of the popular party were absent from Paris.

Lafayette was at Lagrange, Laffitte at a distance of 33 leagues in Normandy, B. Constant ill at Bagneux; all however lost no time in repairing at once to the scene of action.

Laffitte received an express from his banking house which announced the coup d'etat, he set off instantly and arrived in town on this Tuesday night. He felt convinced that the elder branch of the Bourbons must be expelled from the throne, and that the nation would replace them by the Duke of Orleans. Immediately on his arrival he surrounded himself with his private friends. M. Thiers urged him to obtain a personal interview with the Prince. Laffitte went at once to the Palais Royal;—no one there. He sent to Neuilly;—no one there. The Duke had become invisible. On the previous Monday the Count Molé, who up to that time had kept up very little intercourse with the House of Orleans, went to Neuilly on a visit of ceremony on account of some family event. It may well be supposed that the conversation principally turned upon the ordinances, and the state of France. It is moreover asserted, that M. de Molé prognosticated the fall of Charles X., while the Prince on the contrary held to the opinion, that the Court would get through its difficulties. Some few

days afterwards the Duke of Orleans was King, and took the Count Molé for his minister. But after that Monday, the Duke of Orleans shut himself up and would see no one. Giving the Court of St. Cloud credit for more foresight than it really possessed, he kept himself constantly on his guard, and slept for several nights in concealment away from his own Chateau. During all the days of July he kept up no communication with St. Cloud, he received no message from the Court, no account of its proceedings. He was very anxious for news, but solely and exclusively from Paris.

On Wednesday the 28th. Disorder and insurrection prevailed at all points. Wishing to avoid the chief scene of engagement which lay in the Rue St. Honoré, near the Theatre Français, I wandered towards the Rue de la Monnaie, but bands of rioters met me in every direction, keeping up a running fight with the troops, and rending the air with shouts of *a bas les Bourbons*. My disgust was not a little excited at this moment by the sight of two meddling Englishmen, who had joined the turbulent ranks, and were foremost in raising these seditious cries; I could almost have felt in my heart a wish that they might pay the penalty of their officious interference. The

first duty of a foreigner is to respect the government which affords him protection, and whatever allowance may be made for the excited feelings of a citizen at home, the intrusion of a stranger, where he has no interest at stake, is unjustifiable, impertinent, and atrocious. But there is a headstrong bull-dog vanity in some of our countrymen, which unfortunately contributes to augment our measure of unpopularity in foreign countries.

The situation of the troops under Marshal Marmont was perilous and disheartening; these brave men, surrounded by an armed population were exposed to every species of ambuscade; harrassed by sharpshooters from the roofs and windows of the adjoining houses, and opposed at every step by barricades, behind which their reckless enemies assailed them on all sides with murderous missiles of every description.

At times their officers, wishing to spare the effusion of blood, would hesitate to let them fire on the populace; while at others, their sanguinary opponents after using every effort to exterminate them in this unequal warfare, would hold up their bloody hands, and cry. "Ne tirez par sur vos freres! Ne tuez pas vos concitoyens!"—The following trait will

suffice to prove the nature of the service exacted from the troops in these days of July. M. Collavier d' Albizi, Colonel of the 5th regiment of the line, was posted in one of the leading streets of Paris with a part of his 1st battalion. In a few minutes he saw eight or ten of his men fall dead by his side, shot by a party of the rabble, who had taken possession of a house immediately opposite to his position. The Colonel indignant, goes to the General commanding the column, and relates the fact; adding, that he is about to order his sappers to break in the doors, and set the house on fire. The General with evident signs of alarm said to him. "By no means, Colonel;—are you mad?" and he strenuously opposed the execution of this order, although the bullets were flying about in every direction from the windows. This General was an emigrant officer, a worthy, kind-hearted man; had it been a General of the Empire, the whole street would soon have been laid in ashes.

The result of such vacillating conduct was inevitable, after several instances of this nature, the soldiers of the 5th, disgusted at seeing their comrades fall without resistance, threw down their arms and refused to fight any longer. And can it be wondered that under

such appalling circumstances, when courage was of no avail, when no chance was left to them save passive butchery, that the troops should at last have deserted a cause, which they were not even permitted to defend.

Here I speak only of the line, no words can do justice to the bravery and constancy of the Body Guard, whose devotion to their Sovereign never wavered for an instant till his departure from the shores of France.

It was natural to suppose that the authors of a revolution, which was so calculated to excite the anxiety and jealousy of all Europe, should be very anxious to invest it with every attribute of moderation and disinterested feeling, in order to give it a more marked character of real patriotism, and remove all pretext for foreign interference.—In this view the public press was studiously occupied in prepossessing the world, with the most entire convictions that the scenes of July had been unsullied by any act of cruelty, robbery, or personal injury and injustice.—It is not to be denied that comparatively speaking the populace during the battle indulged in few scenes of systematic pillage; their military ardour was roused, they were intent on massacring the troops, and had they felt they wish, the

great mass of combatants had not the time or opportunity to appropriate to their own use the property of others. They were hurried on from one military post to another, the eyes of all were upon them, and the shame of detection naturally operated as a check on those, who were not restrained by more noble motives. To this circumstance may be chiefly attributed the small amount of private injury committed by the people during the first outbreak of the contest, and before twenty-four hours had elapsed the National Guards had flown to arms at the voice of Lafayette, whose exertions were then immediately directed to the preservation of their own property and that of their neighbours. Whoever has lived long in this capital must be aware, that the very lowest orders, generally speaking, are of a ferocious nature, and perhaps more regardless of human life than any other community. It must not therefore be supposed that all who fought on these memorable days were animated with the feelings of a Brutus, or a Cassius; the rearguard was composed of the outcasts of society, who had no other object in view than the continuation of their daily crimes on a more enlarged scale and with greater impunity. The walls of Paris include bands of malefactors, robbers,

and felons escaped from the *Bagne*, who in the hour of riot would be the first to join the ranks of sedition, and make any public tumult the pretext for private pillage. Hence many acts of robbery and plunder did occur during the confusion, which have never been publicly noticed, as redress was out of the question, and the new formed government was anxious to see them buried in oblivion. These no doubt originated in the reckless characters to whom I have alluded, as the more respectable portion of the working classes not only evinced great respect for the national as well as private property, but also used their best endeavours to instil the same feelings into their followers. At the same time one of the fruits of this revolution has been, that the people are now often heard to regret their forbearance on that occasion; many of them openly declare in the wine houses, that should another struggle occur, they will make the national guard *danser le rigadon*, and enforce the division of property with much more rigour than in the days of July. The lovers of peace and good order must therefore deprecate any fresh political movement in this fickle and irascible population.

The following details will contain a succint

account of the various attacks made by the populace on the public institutions in Paris, where the loss and damage was, to say the least, more considerable than the world has been taught to suppose; while the occasional massacres of the defenceless Swiss in cold blood almost recals the days of August in the first revolution.

Count Forbin, *directeur general des Musées*, was absent on leave when the ordinances of July were issued; and M. de Cailleux the chief secretary, whose office it was to replace him, was gone to pass two days in the country.

The Musée was opened as usual on Tuesday, but it attracted few visitors, there were other scenes to occupy the public attention. On Wednesday the 28th at one o'clock, a battalion of Swiss, just arrived from Ruel, entered the Court of the Louvre, to reinforce the usual posts. The Marquis d' Autichamp, the Governor, a veteran aged 93 years, regarded the Louvre merely as a military position, which it was incumbent on him to defend to the last extremity. He is reported to have menaced the people with a pistol from one of the windows, which had excited some irritation among the inhabitants of that quarter. About

twenty soldiers had been stationed on the first floor in the interior of the colonnade, and the firing first began from that point. M. d' Autichamp, whose advanced age precluded him from taking an active part in the combat, was desirous at least to encourage the Swiss troops by his presence; he ordered a chair to be placed in the gallery over the great entrance opposite St Germain l' Auxerrois, in which he seated himself, and from one o'clock till three in the afternoon braved the enemy's fire with the greatest composure. He gave directions that the Musée Royal should be strictly closed, and that no one should be admitted till further orders.

Between seven and eight in the evening he issued a notice to the administration of the Musée, that circumstances might render it necessary to defend the Louvre, in which case he should decide to place soldiers at all the windows of the Musée. M. de Cailleux, foreseeing that this measure would expose the various works of art to considerable danger, was very urgent in making remonstrances against it to the Governor, who turned a deaf ear, and persisted in his own mode of defence. M. de Cailleux then convinced that the Louvre must stand a siege, gave orders to take down

immediately the pictures in the great gallery, beginning first with those, which were placed opposite to the windows looking on the Quay. Workmen were employed during the whole night under his immediate inspection. At half past three in the morning, Swiss troops were posted at all the windows in the Louvre, and the firing began at an early hour. The work of unhanging the pictures was continued with the utmost dispatch, and care was taken to remove the statue of *Henrie IV. when a child*, by M. Bosio, which stood on a pedestal opposite one of the windows.

The Swiss, on entering the great gallery, discharged their muskets from some of the windows, and prepared to occupy them all, when M. de Cailleux after the most urgent entreaties, at last obtained the consent of Lieut. Colonel de Maillardot, that those which were not already occupied by the troops, should be left free, and the shutters closed. He then wrote a letter to the Duc de Raguse protesting against these measures of defence, and at six o'clock not having received any answer, he went himself to meet him, and requested that the Musée might be preserved. He returned to the Louvre accompanied by M. de Komierowsky, the aide-de camp of the Marshal,

who requested Lieut. Colonel de Maillardot to withdraw his men from the windows of the *Musée*, and station them below in the *entresol*; to which the Swiss officer objected; but shortly afterwards the Marshal ordered his battalion to quit the Louvre, and take up another position. There then remained in the Louvre only one battalion of the same regiment which was commanded by Colonel de Salis, and two pieces of cannon pointed against the *Institut*, under the orders of an officer of artillery.

The keepers of the Musée in the mean time continued their labours of removing the pictures till a short time previous to the entrance of the people; by the time that the balls had reached the top of their ladders, all the most valuable *chefs d'œuvre*, were out of the reach of danger.

At ten o'clock, the Colonel de Salis having also evacuated the Louvre with his battalion, it became evident that the populace must soon become masters of the place. No means of defence were left save the pikuet at the little door of the Musée, which had been reinforced to 36 men, and a number of wounded who were assembled in the great hall on the ground floor, which is on the side towards St. Germain l' Auxerrois.

In order to avoid the effusion of blood, and

preserve the *Musée*, M. de Cailleux gave orders to the porter, Heriot, under no account to admit any soldier into the premises; and he induced the Swiss to retreat to the wood-stacks; he then went out to the place du Carrousel, and addressing himself to M. de Komierowsky, he enquired who were the chiefs of the popular party. From him he learnt, that every thing was carried on in the names of M. M. Lafayette, Gerard, and Choiseul. He returned, and repeated his orders to the porter, that none but the people should be admitted into the Musée, also enjoining him to recommend the national property to their care and protection. He then wrote himself various tickets in the following terms '*Respect national property.*' There were among the keepers, several natives of Switzerland, who were apprehensive of being taken for soldiers in disguise; as several of these men had been menaced and ill treated on the preceding evening, on account of their wearing the King's livery, he made them put on the dress of work-people.

At half past eleven the mob, having convinced themselves that the Louvre was not defended, broke down the iron railing, and at once forced an entry by the great gate facing St. Germain

l' Auxerrois. The trifling remnant of the Swiss post retired by the wood-stacks on the side of the place du Carrousel;—all the outer gates of the Musée were open. The people entered at once into the hall, named, *des Grands hommes*, to the left on the ground floor, where the works of sculpture executed by living artists are generally exhibited. Here had been just established an hospital for the Swiss troops, and two rows of wounded men were laid on the marble floor, which still bears the stains of their blood. Some of these unfortunate men were immediately massacred by their relentless invaders. At one end of this hall is a great staircase, at the top of which are various doors leading to the galleries of the Musée. These were all locked, the people fired muskets and pistols through the key holes, which shattered the wards, and they were then easily forced open.

A concourse of men well supplied with every description of fire arms, advanced like a band of riflemen, cautiously down the gallery of Charles X, which is stored with Egyptian curiosities, searching, as they pretended, in every corner for the Swiss. M. de Cailleux announced himself to them as chief of the establishment, and presenting one of his written

notices, besought them to respect the national property: the keepers then affixed tickets to that effect in various parts of the *Musée*.

Notwithstanding this precaution, the picture of the Coronation was pierced with 44 bullets; several shots were fired at the portrait ofCharles X, and the bust of Louis XVIII. A large cabinet containing jewels and objects of value was broke open, and the chief contents stolen. —The first who gave the signal for pillage, seized a cup of agate, which he held up in the air, as an invitation to others to follow his example. M. de Cailleux rushed upon a man,who was in the act of concealing some valuable objects in his bosom, and said to him, "Stealing is forbidden here."

"I am come for no other purpose," replied the other with the utmost coolness.

A third carried away with him three gold vases, saying that he took them as a *souvenir*. A cup of Onyx valued at 50,000f. also disappeared. The amount of what was stolen from the Egyptian collection may at a moderate computation be reckoned at 15,188f.; but that which was taken from the *Musée* of Charles X. amounted to at least 147,340f. Some trifling articles were afterwards traced and recovered, but those of most value, particularly the cup

of 50,000f. were never heard of again, and were irrecoverably lost.

M. de Cailleux when he observed this pillage of the jewels, said to the first individual who came in his way, "In the name of the Generals Lafayette and Gerard, I order you to stand here as sentry, and watch over the remaining contents of these cabinets." He was a poor Swiss workman named Muller, very illiterate, very honest, and was at once recognised by one of the keepers of the Musée as a countryman.

This man said to M. de Cailleux, "You need be under no alarm, Muller is a good man and true, I will answer for his conduct."

In fact Muller performed his task with great vigilance, and preserved much property from depredation.

A wine dealer named Fillion, and two others, whose names were unknown, likewise gave M. de Cailleux every possible assistance. This latter said to Fillion, "As you have already made some examples by shooting those who robbed, why do you not punish some of these fellows in the same manner."

"They would murder me at once," replied the other, "I know them not, they do not belong to us."

They were without doubt robbers by profession, perhaps some of those who escaped from the Conciergerie and cried out, "Let us go to the Louvre," as will be seen when we come to what passed at the Palais de Justice.

An attempt was made to demolish the statue of Henri IV. when a child, whom they mistook for the Duc de Bordeaux.

The statue of the Dauphin by M. Bra, was mutilated and the head separated from the trunk.

A young man armed with a sabre, mounted on a stool which he had previously placed on the stove, cut out a portion of the portrait of Charles X, which he rolled up in his handkerchief, and carried away. In an instant the remains of the portrait disappeared among the crowd. When one of the keepers remonstrated with them on the theft, saying. "This is national property;" they replied, "What does the fellow mean? take it away, take it away, we must have some pledge of our victory, it is a *souvenir*."

A young man carried off a boarding pike from the Musée of the Marine, "It is for my own use," said he, "I will return it when I have done with it." M. de Cailleux took down his name and address, and in fact some days afterwards the lance was restored. A man in

the crowd having cried out, "Let us set the place on fire!" another replied, "Who is it, that dares to make such a proposal?" and the people drove out the incendiary.

In the mean time the crowd advanced towards that part of the Musée, which looks on to the Carrousel; some of these individuals who imputed to M. de Cailleux the defence of the Louvre, menaced him with their fists, seized him by the collar, and demanded with loud cries that he should show them where the Swiss were concealed. On a sudden they caught a glimpse through the windows of the unfortunate objects of their search, lurking near the wood stacks; they instantly quitted M. de Cailleux, shivered the panes of glass, and fired upon them, but fortunately without success. The wretched men fled with such precipitation that they left behind them their havresacks.

On the first report that the populace had invaded the Louvre, they attempted to force their way into the Musée, and actually broke down one or two doors, which communicated from their guard room with the interior of the peristyle, but finding the others firmly closed, they retraced their steps, and effected a retreat by tearing down the wooden palisades of the timber yard; which turned out fortunately for

them, as if the populace had found them within the precincts of the Musée, they would most undoubtedly have massacred them all without pity, and peradventure also, the Director himself, and the keepers, who had solemnly sworn to their departure. Such an event would in all probability have subjected this magnificent *depôt* of the arts to a general pillage, which some of the invading party seemed already too much disposed to perpetrate.

A party of the mob had already penetrated into the Tuilleries by the door which communicates from the grand gallery with the Palace, but as soon as M. de Cailleux had been enabled by the assistance of some friends, and a few students of the Ecole Polytechnique to regain a little authority, he caused that door to be closed, padlocked and barricaded, and placed sentinels before it.

He repaired himself to the Hotel de Ville, in order to procure a detachment of national guards; General Lafayette conducted him to the Municipal Committee, then sitting, who ordered handbills to be stuck up all over Paris, declaring that the public institutions, and more particularly the Musée, the Royal Library, the Museum of Natural History, &c. were placed

under the protection of all good citizens. When the mob invaded the Tuilleries, every one had decamped; all the individuals of the household had quitted the palace, except a few servants or porters who were in great alarm, and seemed anxious themselves to flee from the impending danger. These were compelled to open all the doors, but no one attempted to harm them.

The crowd at once inundated all the apartments, where amongst other objects of value, were to be seen various curiosities which belonged to the Musée. On the ground floor every thing was pillaged, broken or destroyed, the heroes of July showed little magnanimity, they thought that the king's property was a fair spoil. On the first floor there was less disorder, some servants were allowed to pack up plate and valuables without molestation, which they removed to the Louvre. A ticket was placed on a cabinet, full of works of art and curiosities, recommending respect to the national property, another on the bust of Louis XVIII.; both of which were preserved. Musket shots were fired at the fleurs de lys, and the picture of the Trocadero, the figure of the Dauphin was pierced with bullets. During this scene of rapine, some individuals exclaim-

ed " Let us break nothing, there will always be damage enough to be paid." A national guard placed himself as sentry before the silver statue of Henri IV. M. de Cailleux who had repaired to the Tuilleries, to claim the property, which belonged to the Musée, showed a wish to carry off this statue, and some other valuables. The mob opposed it, as one of them said, " We will allow nothing to be taken away, lest the blame should rest with us." They afterwards consented to accompany him, and see that he fulfilled his trust. This, while their comrades had been plundering every thing that they could lay their hands on.

Much has been recounted of the military executions summarily concluded by the people on those, who were detected in thefts. One actually did occur at the Hotel d' Elbœuf, place du Carrousel, on a man who had stolen money and silver spoons at the house of M. Le Duc. His pockets were evidently full.

" You have robbed," said one of them.

" No! I have not robbed."

They shook his pockets, a spoon and pieces of five francs fell to the ground.

" You see it is true, you have robbed, you are a scoundrel," and without further ceremony they shot him dead.

The chapel was not treated with much religious respect, but did not sustain any serious injury. A man with a drawn sabre kept watch before the altar, and when the cover of the communion table was displaced by the throng, he carefully put it in order. The great organ was under repair, and taken to pieces; the mob seized the pipes, and converted them into flutes for their amusement.

The *Salle du Trone* presented a very different aspect, the corpse of a young man about thirty years old had been placed on the throne, as it were on a state bed; his countenance was fine, and the whole scene had a theatrical effect, which contrasted with the grim features of the surrounding populace. He was one of the first who entered into the Court of the Tuilleries and the standers by seemed to gaze upon him with admiration.

The bedchamber of the King was thronged with water carriers, who rolled themselves about, in fits of laughter, on the mattresses of the bed.

The garden gates were shut at the usual hour, there was even a contest between those who shut them, and one of the combatants who insisted on admittance in opposition to the order, but he could not gain his point.

The palace was occupied during the night by above three hundred persons.

The Palais Royal had a narrow escape. The principal Secretary of the Duke of Orleans, apprehensive, that if any resistance was opposed to the people, this palace would inevitably be sacked; on the morning of the 29th, requested the officers, of the Garde Royale who defended the post, to yield it up to the national guard. They transmitted this request to the Duc de Raguse, who gave strict orders that they should continue to defend the Palais Royal.

The attack commenced on that day, but at length the suspension of hostilities being declared, the firing ceased; the troops received orders to evacuate the Palais Royal, and the people having gained admittance rushed through the courts. Those who were attached to the household of H. R. H. showed considerable apprehension, and made some representations. A leader of the mob then replied, "Be not afraid, we are no robbers; if we have demolished the windows, it was against our wish. We were obliged to fire on the troops."

And when some individuals appeared animated with less honest intentions, and showed a disposition to pillage, others interfered and

prevented them, saying, " We have received benefits from the Duke of Orleans, and from the Duchess, he is a worthy man; it is a good family; they give charity to the poor; they provide work for the labourer; we will not suffer that any thing shall be purloined here, or any damage committed."

The people having found in the office of M. de Strada, *ecuyer* to the Duke of Orleans, a box, which bore the name of M. Mangin, tore it to pieces; M. Mangin was a clerk of the stables to the Prince, and they confounded his name with that of the Prefect of Police.

On Wednesday the 28th, the forty Swiss stationed at the post of *La Monnaie*, were anxious to fire on the people; the chief of that establishment, the Conte de Sussy, would not permit it. He then singled out the principal leader of the insurrection, and meeting him under the arcade of the Institut, he assured him, that if the people would refrain from attacking *La Monnaie*, he on his part would engage that the Swiss should not fire a single shot. The people followed his advice, and the troops remained inactive in the Hotel. On the following morning at four o'clock, M. de Sussy, with the view of preventing further hostilities, and at the same time of providing

for the safety of the Swiss, ordered them to lay aside their arms. He made them put on the dress of working people, and gave to each man a loaf of bread and five francs. A new difficulty here arose, they refused one and all to cut off their mustachios. "*C'est ma moustache d' Austerlitz,*" said an old grenadier.

M. de Sussy represented to them that without this precaution they would be infallibly recognised, and their disguise would be useless. Resistance was in vain, he ordered water and razors to be brought, the barber did his duty, and the venerable record of past glory was mowed away. M. de Sussy then made them privately quit Paris, and organised the workmen of *La Monnaie*, as national guards, distributing to them the arms which had been left by the Swiss.

After the taking of the Louvre, the people directed their steps towards La Monnaie, intending to take vengeance on the Swiss, whom they believed to be still in the Hotel, for the death of their own comrades, and ready to massacre them in cold blood, as they had done on other occasions during the combat.—M. de Sussy went out to meet them, he related the inoffensive conduct of the Swiss, and their

departure, the truth of which was corroborated by others.

The people became more pacified, they no longer insisted on searching la Monnaie, but they demanded that the Royal Arms should be effaced, and the tricoloured flag hoisted. This was immediately done. Some then talked of demolishing the statues. M. de Sussy said to them. "You wish to preserve agriculture and commerce, well, these are the statues of agriculture and commerce." The appeal was listened to, and the statues were respected. In the heat of argument M. de Sussy, having inadvertently knocked off the hat of one of the mob, by patting him on the shoulder, stooped immediately to pick it up: this act of civility conciliated the popular feeling. "Comrades," said he, "you see that I am come amongst you without fear, and alone with my son, I know that your intentions are good, you wished for liberty, you now wish for order and peace."

It is a generally known fact that the inhabitants of Paris during any extremes of heat or cold in the atmosphere, never fail attentively to consult the thermometer of the optician Chevalier placed on the north side of the clock tower

of the *Palais de Justice*: there is often on such occasions a long string of people near the iron railing—During the three days of July, and the consequent confusion, the optician had removed his thermometer, but the anxiety to ascertain the degree of heat was so general, that the combatants even in the midst of the firing, cried out before the closed shop, "Chevalier, Chevalier, tell us the degree of the thermometer," M. Chevalier opened his window, took off his cap and said, "It is 24 degrees," he then closed his window, and retired, till he was summoned again by another party.

On the 29th at 4 o'clock in the morning, some felons who had escaped from the prisons of the *Palais de Justice*, broke into one of the adjacent houses, and entering the dining-room, were busily occupied in searching for plate. The owner, awakened by the uproar, came down stairs from an upper story, and observing through a glass door, the work that was going on under his roof, quickly returned to his bedroom, where he lost no time in disguising himself as a robber; that is, he smeared his face, dirtied his linen, tore his pantaloon, and put on a hat without a brim; thus sordidly equipped, he rejoined the party below, and mixing himself with the rabble, he said to

them with various oaths. "We are all friends, let us make common booty," then appearing to take alarm, he added. "Odds blood! we shall have the galleys for life; we are pursued, we shall be caught in a trap; let us bolt, let us bolt."—The thieves took fright, and ran away, saying to the other, "Come with us to the Louvre."

It was probably a part of that gang, who were so well acquainted with the contents of the cabinet in the Musée of Charles X.

When the people invaded the Palais de Justice on this morning of the 29th M. de Berny an ancient magistrate, blind and infirm, was led by his own desire into their presence, he harangued them with calmness and eloquence, imploring them in the name of the Law, to respect its principal sanctuary.—He was heard with attention in some quarters, but at other points the pillage was continued, and the robes of the Judges with the arm chairs of the tribunal were seen flying out of the windows into the Seine.

The prison of Sainte Pelagie is divided into two parts, the debtors' side, and the condemned side, as it is in our Newgate.

On Wednesday the 28th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, M. Gaillard the director on the

debtors' side, learnt that an impression had gained ground among the prisoners, that it was his intention to manacle them on account of the disturbances in Paris. He repaired to the midst of them, in order to do away with this misconception, but they all were resolved to quit the prison, and insisted on the doors being opened. The director replied that it was impossible.—They seized the beams of timber, which served as a prop to the passage leading to the chapel, and used them as battering rams to break down the gates.—At the first blow given, M. Gaillard sent to inform the authorities of what was passing in the prison; none were to be found.—The prisoners continued their operations with success, about one hundred and sixty-nine of them made their way out. Eighty still remained, who were of a more conscientious description: they protested against the evasion of their comrades, saying, "That they would not avail themselves of political circumstances to the prejudice of their creditors," and signed among themselves a document to that effect. On the following day they thought better of it, and demanded likewise to obtain their liberty.—The director refused, as on the preceding day; but the national guard having

arrived to relieve the post of the line, the prisoners observed to them, that they ought not to be treated like common malefactors. One of the national guard said to them, "In the name of the law, and of liberty, I summon you to remain in prison."—But the others allowed them to escape.

Those who were condemned for crime wished also to follow the example of those, who were confined for debt; and in order to gain the outlet which the others had made, they broke down the door of communication with the chapel, which is common to both sections of the house, and also the door on the opposite, or debtors' side.

They then proceeded to the turnkey's lodge, armed with clubs and any weapons which they could find, forced their way through all opposition, and issued into the street, where the guard, taken by surprise, had only time to form itself into two divisions, which blocked up the road on each side of the gate.—The prisoners for debt joined themselves with the troops to intercept the malefactors. Only two escaped who were hereafter retaken.

M. Durny commanding the picket, on hearing that several individuals were confined in this prison for political offences, signed an

order, in the name of the national guard for their enlargement, which took place.

The sub-lieutenant of the 15th regiment of line who com manded that post, remained from the 27th to the 29th without provisions. On the latter day the soldiers having exhausted the little money they possessed in the purchase of bread, accepted some slight refreshment which was offered by the neighbours. When the people arrived to disarm the troops, the officer said, "The prisoners for debt are gone, I have under my charge none but malefactors, if you take away my arms, you are acting against the public interest."

The people were convinced by this reasoning, and pleased by his prudent temperate conduct, went so far as to cheer him with repeated acclamations, when he retired to his barracks.

There was a military post at the hospital *Gros Caillou*, the commandant of which had received orders to show the most vigorous resistance.

The populace prepared on Thursday morning to besiege the hospital; a measure, which threatened to produce the most dreadful consequences, as it was filled with soldiers, who had been wounded during the days of July.

Already were ladders placed to scale the walls, and preparations made to batter the gates. M. Larrey, occupied at the time in dressing his patients, ordered the officer on duty to replace his sword in the scabbard, and command his men to lay down their arms; he then made them all take off their uniforms, and put on their great coats and foraging caps; in this attire they were sent into the sick wards, to appear as convalescents. Having made this prudent arrangement; he himself went out of the hospital in his uniform, and thus addressed the besiegers.—"This is an asylum of the sick and wounded; it would be horrible to commit the slightest excess within these walls, it would be a lasting dishonour to the victories of July. In all the battles of the great Napoleon, the wounded were considered as sacred. The only objects in this house, which can be of any utility to you, are the arms of the picket. You have only to return here, six in number, accompanied by a commissary of the police, and they shall be given up to you with readiness."

Several old soldiers of the imperial guard in the crowd recognised M. Larrey; it was well known that he gave his gratuitous attendance to the wounded, and no further difficulty

was made. A messenger was dispatched for the commissary of police, on whose arrival, the arms were delivered to the people.

On Thursday the 29th, the populace, in search of arms, assembled for the third time in front of the *depôt* of artillery, situated *Place St. Thomas d' Aquin.* The Museum, which forms part of this establishment, contains samples of every species of arms, invented since the discovery of gunpowder, as well as a splendid collection of armour, used in the middle age and during the period of chivalry. At the time of the two first attacks, M. de Carpegna, director of the Museum, had succeeded in preventing the pillage of this precious collection, by representing to the mob, that it could furnish nothing of any use to the objects of their warfare. But then, there were no Swiss troops in the building; and on this Thursday a guard of eighty men had been sent in by the commander-in-chief. The sight of these foreigners exasperated the people, and rendered them inaccessible to all rational remonstrance.—Nevertheless M. de Carpegna, on seeing the crowd defile to the *Place St. Thomas d' Aquin,* advanced calmly and without arms to meet them. "This is not," said he, "a depôt of arms, it is a museum of antiquities, a collec-

tion of arms of all ages, very precious as relating to the arts and to history, but from their form and construction no longer serviceable, and therefore useless for your purpose." A young man, well dressed, who appeared to have some ascendancy over the rest, seemed to comprehend these arguments; he admitted that to gain arms so unfit for service, it could not be politic or right to destroy an establishment, which possessed so much interest. The Museum indeed would have been respected, if some voices from the crowd had not exclaimed —"Give us then the arms of the Swiss."—"I have not the power," replied M. de Carpegna. —They still insisted vehemently.—The director wishing to employ every means of preventing the effusion of blood, and pillage, went back, in order to induce the officer of the Swiss troops to come out with him, and hold a parley with the people.—They returned together.—At the first appearance of a red coat the most discordant cries were raised.—M. de Carpegna held his companion by the arm.—"This officer," said he, "is come under my word of honour, and must be respected as if under a flag of truce."

The young man, the original speaker, who still seemed to preserve his influence with the

rest, then repeated his proposal to the officer, that the arms of his men should be surrendered.—" I will never consent," said the other, " I should be dishonored for life."—The discussion grew warm, then violent. The young man exclaimed—" You will not? Well!—then, to arms."—A sudden movement took place among the crowd. The director and the officer had only time to retreat into the place, and close the gate. It was almost instantaneously broken open with a beam of timber.—The Swiss fired a volley on the mob as they entered, they returned the fire, and killed two of the Swiss, who staggered towards the cloister of the Dominicans, and then expired. Having once effected an entrance, the insurgents paid no more attention to the Swiss, and committed no further cruelties. Measures were taken by the director to disguise the troops and facilitate their escape. The conquerors of the Museum who did not appear to be savagely inclined, then set about searching for arms in every direction.

M. de Carpegna said to the young leader, " Prevent the crowd from rushing into the galleries, I will endeavour to distribute to them those arms, which may be most serviceable," (as may be supposed they were those of the

least value.) In this manner a distribution was made on the spot during a few minutes, but the first who pushed forwards in defiance of the edict, was followed by a second, and a third, till at last the stream encreased, and every part was invaded.

The director had previously emptied two cabinets, which contained objects of considerable value. He hid a part in the library behind the books, among which were a pair of pistols, inlaid with precious stones, valued at 60,000f. They were made at Vincennes by order of Bonaparte as a present for the Emperor of Morocco, but he afterwards changed his mind.

The people did not come to the Museum in search of books, they avoided the library, and the pistols were preserved. The other hiding place was discovered, and among the precious articles stolen, were the following.

The matchlock of Charles IX. inlaid with mother of pearl, bearing the following inscription:

Pour maintenir la foy soi bel et fidele,
Et aux ennemis du Roy sois rebelle et cruel.

This matchlock is supposed to be that which Charles IX. used, to fire on his subjects from the windows of the Louvre, on the day of St.

Barthelemy. Curious retribution! it was now perhaps directed against the windows of the Louvre on the days of July.

2. The powder-horn of the same monarch, made of ivory, beautifully carved with his portrait, a wreath forming the word '*Fidelis*,' and the image of the resurrection of our Saviour, with this inscription, '*Hac spe patent cœli.*' This religious powder-horn was in process of time restored by a curate, who was probably entrusted with that commission by the purloiner under some scruple of conscience.

3. The matchlock of Cardinal Richelieu with his arms engraved. It was returned blackened with powder, and had been frequently used, though more likely to injure the bearer than his opponents.

4. All the gothic armour was either carried off or thrown about. One man was anxious to get the lance of Francis I. who was mounted on his horse in the middle of the gallery, both armed cap-à-pied. The director apprehensive that in pulling at the lance he would knock down and damage the figures, caused it to be given to him. It has never been recovered.

The armour of the Maid of Orleans was pulled to pieces and damaged. A common workman carried off the helmet of Godfrey de

Bouillon, whose armour was the most magnificent in all the Museum, he placed it on his head, and strutted about in the street, to the great amusement of his companions; M. de Carpegna caught a glimpse of him from the window, and cried out, "Stop him, stop him, that is the helmet of Godfrey de Bouillon," and the precious relic was immediately brought back.

At length the middle age seemed to have revived amidst the barricades of July. Every thing was carried away, helms, vizors, cuishes, lances, partisans, shields, became the spoil of the invaders. It was indeed a curious spectacle to see this medley of masons, tailors, bakers, coblers, and water-carriers, decked out in these chivalrous trophies of the old feudal times; they looked like stragglers from a ballet at the Opera house, like any thing in short but real life. What then would those noble and valiant knights of the crusades have said, could they have risen from their tombs and seen those arms, which they in former ages had borne with haughty mien on the fields of Palestine, now dragged through the kennel or grasped by the hands of serfs and villains to overthrow the monarchy of Hugues Capet.

The director perceived a man who had seized a standard, which had belonged to the body guard of Louis XIV.; it was made of white damask silk, richly embroidered, with a deep gold fringe. "What are you doing with that," said he, "it is not a weapon." As there was nothing to distinguish the director, who was in a simple undress, the man mistaking him for one of his party, replied with a wink, "Don't you think it would sell for something?"

Several women had forced their way into the Museum with the people, and one of them having laid her hands upon three halberds, M. de Carpegna enjoined her to take only one, and leave the rest for the others. "Don't be uneasy, sir," said she, "I shall take care to distribute them." Some days afterwards it was reported to the director, that some halberds belonging to the Museum were deposited in one of those receptacles of vice, which are always open to the public, and have little need of weapons of defence; he sent thither one of his emissaries who easily recovered them.—The amazon had not been true to her word, she had carried them all to her own home.

Thus far, as may be seen, little bloodshed had occurred, but two circumstances now

happened which placed the life of M. de Carpegna in very imminent danger. Notwithstanding his earnest remonstrances, a considerable number of the muskets in the Museum had been deprived of their locks by a recent order, imperatively issued from the head quarters. Several young men, observing this deficiency, carried them to a neighbouring gunsmith, to obtain fresh locks. The tradesman, perhaps with a view of creating mischief, observed to them, that the old locks had been removed that very morning, or not earlier than the preceding evening. Fired with rage, they returned to the Museum, seized the director by the collar, and demanded the locks with a pistol at his breast. He told one of the attendants of the Museum to give them up. This man, under the impression that a sign was made to him, not to comply with the order, replied, that he knew not where they were. M. de Carpegna insisted, but in vain. A young man convinced of his good faith, and observing his trouble, whispered in his ear—"Get out of the way as quick as you can, for I cannot answer for your safety."

Those who were really intent on procuring the means of combat, enquired of M. de Car-

pegna, whether there were no arms of a more modern description than those which they had hitherto seen.

He replied in the negative, because in fact it was not a place appropriated to that purpose and in general there were none. The director of the Museum, whose province is limited to that department, and has no controul whatever over the other branches of the artillery, was ignorant that on the preceding night two large chests had been sent in, containing three hundred new muskets, with percussion locks, which were to be forwarded on the following day to different regiments for trial. The populace in ferreting through every corner of the establishment, detected these muskets, and became most highly exasperated, they wanted to massacre the director, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he was at length able to pacify them.

At the expiration of two hours, the Museum of the artillery was completely gutted. In a few days, when order had been restored in the capital, M. de Carpegna posted up handbills, requesting all good citizens who might have carried away objects from this *depôt*, with a view of saving them from general depredation, to restore them without delay to the Museum;

and extraordinary as it may appear, the invitation was attended with considerable success. The matchlock of Cardinal Richelieu had got into the possession of a waiter in a neighbouring coffee-house, and on application to the proprietor it was given up.

A cursory idea of what passed at the Hotel des Invalides may be formed from the following letter of one of the inmates, Louis Martin Noel, Corporal, stationed at the Iron gates on the 27th to the 30th of July, which has been published.

"27th. I, who was on guard, saw the whole troop file off with enthusiasm the ammunition waggons, &c. with matches lighted. The soldier is never in default, the military always obey. The gates were shut, the pass-word was given. At nine o'clock I hear a discharge of musketry; I say to a certain person of the Hotel who was near me on duty. 'Boileau was right when he said, that men were worse than the animals; wolves do not lay in ambush to kill their own species.' 'Hold your tongue,' said he, 'this is the cause of kings it does not concern you.'

"On the next day, we all received our instructions, no one was allowed to enter or go out, but I said, 'By —— nothing shall

stop me, I must go and look after my wife; as for the Hotel, that is all very well, but I have my family. I will know what has happened to my wife.' I made my way to the Rue Traversiere St. Honoré where my wife lives; I saw two men killed in the street, one a tailor, the other a fruiterer. The owner of the public house No. 39, said to me, 'Come in, it is not safe in the street,' I did so, and got rather drunk for joy that my wife was safe and well. Mark my words, every man should love his wife by the powers! On going away I met a young girl of my acquaintance in a great fright. I took her under my arm, and went with her to another public house, where I bought some sugar to make a drop of hot wine. We staid there a bit. Then I returned about four o'clock to the Hotel, where I remained without budging to share the lot of my comrades.

"On Thursday the 29th, different bodies of the Garde Royale arrived, and were treated with refreshments on the Esplanade by the Governor. Crowds of people assembled before the gates, crying, '*Vive la Charte*,' without knowing what it meant. They looked for all the world like larks ready roasted. They cried also, 'Hoist the tricoloured flag.' The invalids replied through the grating, 'We desire

nothing better, but we are not the masters, apply to our chiefs, let them give the word, and the thing is done.' The seduction of the tricoloured flag had shaken the allegiance of the old invalids. When the King's troops were seen from the esplanade retreating on the other side of the river towards St. Cloud, the crowd before the gates encreased. Two or three students of the Ecole Polytechnique arrived, desiring an audience of the Governor, M. de Latour Maubourg, they were admitted. They took pains to keep back the crowd, lest they should try to enter with them into the Hotel. They said, 'it was sacred, and the asylum of the aged soldier must be respected.' They asked the Governor to mount the tricoloured flag; he replied, 'That he had no orders, without which he would not comply.' As for me, if I was a king, I would only employ men like the Governor, who do not say, 'Every wind is good that blows me on.' He is no weather-cock.

"On the 30th, early in the morning, we were menaced by considerable numbers, of whom, one, a shabby looking fellow, said to us, 'A very short time will put a stop to your braggings.' We replied to the populace in civil terms. A person of some distinction in

the Hotel, to satisfy the crowd, who were crying through the rails, 'Pull off your white cockades,' took off his own and threw it under his feet. I said for my part, I will not take off mine by —— till the gates are opened. I turned my hat round. Two individuals with flags of truce made their appearance, one from General Gerard, the other from Count Lobau, requesting to speak with the Governor. On leaving him, they said to me, 'He is a proud man and firm as a rock, he will not listen to our proposals, he is true to his system.' I said 'You have some influence with the populace who are pressing us hard, make them a speech.' Then they made a speech, that the Governor could not be pusillanimous, that he had no orders, and that they ought to respect the Hotel. This had some effect in calming them for a moment. Soon afterwards a party of them climbed up to the top of the iron gate, demolished the *fleurs de lys* and planted a tri-coloured flag; others jumped into the ditch, got upon each others backs, and mounted into the court of the Hotel. There was no keeping them out, we therefore opened the gates at once. The people then rushed through all parts of the Hotel, into the armoury and into the kitchen. They seized our arms, and sold

them openly on the esplanade. Those who really wish to fight, may seize arms, but they do not sell them. I would not give up my sabre to a set of scamps who had never served; I hid it under my bed; I would have no communication with thieves and robbers like these.

"The Colonel Fabvier arrived with two or three platoons of national guards, they did what they could to prevent the mob from stealing any thing but the arms. The gluttons got into the kitchen, and were making free with the hard eggs cooked for our dinner; a sentinel was posted at the door; without that, our dinner had disappeared in double quick time. Upon this they raised a cry for the head of the Governor, there is nothing so savage as the people. You know it is a common saying '*Populo barbaro.*' I said that it was infamous; a man like him, who had been wounded in battle. The Colonel Fabvier said to the mob, 'I know the services which he has rendered to his country, he, he is a brave man.' Order was partially restored, two students of the Ecole Polytechnique, sat down at the gate to assist the guardians, in keeping back the throng as much as possible.

"TheGovernor gave orders to open the doors

of his apartments, he said, 'I have no fear, if they want blood, let them kill me!' Colonel Fabvier placed two sentinels at his door, they would otherwise have murdered him; a set of scoundrels! who only wanted pillage, and had already eaten up our eggs. His wife gave directions to hoist the tricoloured flag during the night, without his knowledge. That is a man after my heart, he is no —— The following day he departed, after taking an affectionate leave of the officers. During the three days one of the chiefs of the establishment, having used some expression in favor of the revolution, the Governor placed him under arrest, saying, 'You are here, you eat the bread of the King, you have no right to give an opinion.'

"On the 2nd of August, I was returning to the Hotel, rather in liquor; when some blackguards surrounded me on the Quai de Gevres, saying, 'He has the fleur de lys on his button, let us throw him into the Seine.' As I was pretty fresh myself, I replied, 'You won't cry out for the Charter six months hence, you are building a house which will tumble down to-morrow; I am an old soldier, covered with scars.—What! massacre an invalid because he has the fleurs de lys on his button; wait at least till the government gives us others.—I

have done my duty.'—This put them in a passion.—They laid hold of me, some before, some behind, and wished to throw me into the river, but I made a stout resistance.—Just then a printseller caught my eye, who was crying out, 'Here's for three sous, for four sous, for six sous.'—'How much for the Adieux of Napoleon at Fontainbleau,' said I to him.—'Six sous.'—I took the print, and turning to the rabble, I said with a smile, 'Look here! I have just bought Charles X. do you see it?'—'No,' said they, 'it is Napoleon; bravo! bravo!' This damped their appetite, and it saved my life. I treated three or four of them to a glass of wine, and they said I was an excellent fellow. On my return as I went along, I showed the print to every one I met, saying with an arch look, 'Here is Charles X.'

"The next morning it was all known at the Hotel, some of our people were told, 'You have a comrade whose opinions are not sound,' but we had still got the fleurs de lys on our buttons."

On Wednesday the 28th, about noon, a band of men in a high state of exasperation appeared before the great gate of the Archbishop's palace,

demanding admittance with loud cries, that they might seize the person of that prelate, and suspend him to the tricoloured flag, which had just been hoisted on the north tower of Notre Dame.

"Monseigneur is not here," said the Swiss, "I give you the most solemn assurance of it."

"Never mind, we are determined to enter; we shall find some *culottins* of his followers, and they shall pay for him."

"There is not a single ecclesiastic in the palace."

Though not satisfied with these words, they retired, with the declaration, that they would return on the following day.

True enough on the 29th, between eight and nine in the morning, the gates were besieged by a mob much more numerous, declaring that they came to seek for 4,000 muskets, and some Jesuits, who were concealed in the cellars. In vain the Swiss affirmed that there were neither muskets or Jesuits; he was forced to give them admittance, and above a hundred ruffians forced their way into the court. They burst open the door of a cellar, which contained the sacramental wine; then that of the secretary's office, under the pretence of looking for arms. They knocked to

pieces with hammers the bureaus and cash box of the secretary, stole all the money and funds of the diocese, and committed every species of rapine and disorder.

This band was soon reinforced by others, and the Archiepiscopal palace was at once invaded by two thousand persons, out of whom above two hundred were women. Some were armed with guns and sabres, others carried axes, pincers, crows, and little monseigneurs, (instruments used in housebreaking). One party went down into the cellars to hunt for the muskets and Jesuits; the larger proportion rushed up into the apartments of every story, and carried on the work of pillage and destruction. Some disguised themselves in the robes of the clergy, put on their square caps, and then discharged their guns, loaded with powder, out of the windows, to make those out of doors believe that the prebendaries were firing on the people. Very probable indeed was it, that those sixteen ecclesiastics, of whom twelve were eighty or ninety years old, sickly and infirm, should have put on their sacerdotal habits to wage war with two thousand madmen and ruffians. Nevertheless the imposture gained credit, and encreased the general irritation. The altar of the chapel was thrown

down and demolished. The sacred plate which was the property of the city of Paris, was taken out of its iron chest, and became the spoil of the robbers. The greater part of the linen was sent to the Hotel Dieu for the use of the wounded.

M. Desportes, inspector of hospitals, had dispatched two of his officials, M. M. Cusin and Palandre, to go and enquire what was passing at the Archbishop's palace; a commission which was not free from danger. They did every thing in their power to induce the mob to hear the voice of reason, but all was in vain. The insurgents even called in the aid of fire and water, to assist in the work of destruction; they formed a line to convey from one to another down to the quay every thing which was thrown from the windows; all was then cast into the river, or into a large bonfire, which had been lighted for the purpose, while armed men stood by to intimidate those, who might attempt to interfere, no matter with what intention.

M. Desportes being warned by M. M. Cusin and Palandre, that the flames from the bonfire on the quay menaced the neighbouring houses, and that the Hotel Dieu itself was in danger, lost no time in sending to the spot two engines

from that hospital. He followed himself with M. Breschet, and they were fortunate enough to persuade those who were employed in keeping up this fire, to cease their labours, and those who formed the chain of communication, to fetch water in the buckets and extinguish the flames. By this salutary interference the palace, the church, and perhaps one quarter of the city were saved from destruction.

In less than seven hours the palace of the Archbishop was entirely spoiled and gutted, nothing remained standing but the walls; so much so, that in the following February, the people had little else to do than pull down the brickwork.

At ten o'clock about twenty men broke into the Sacristy of the Chapter; a few of them forced open a cabinet, and broke in pieces a silver gilt *ostensoir*, which they divided among themselves and concealed under their clothes; at length, after repeated expostulations, they were induced to retire and the door was locked.

At noon the mob arrived in the hall of the Chapter, where every thing was devastated. They tore in pieces the portraits of the bishops and archbishops of Paris, penetrated into the treasury, where they scattered all the sacer-

dotal ornaments on the floor; certain ladies, who had a quick eye in selecting what was most valuable, tore off the fringes, the lace, and other costly parts of the priestly dresses, which instantly disappeared. They spilled the holy oils, destroyed the crosses used in public processions, the lamps, candlesticks and girandoles of every description.

Another band forced their way into the church, and ordered the vestry-man to open the choir; they were bent on destroying the statues of the kings. Yielding to his remonstrances they retired, but while he was congratulating himself on his success, they broke open the presses in the vestry, and plundered all the surplices of the choristers. In the mean time fresh insurgents arrived, more furious than the first who insisted on the demolition of the statues. Having mounted on the benches and chairs they were on the point of scaling the iron rails of the sanctuary, when suddenly an awful crash was heard. Some marble tables thrown from the first story on the pavement of the court, as well as heavy pieces of furniture from the windows of the second, which fell on the skylight of the church, and shivered it to atoms, produced such a frightful combination of noises, that all

were seized with a panic, and leaped down from the benches, crying out with one accord, "They are firing upon us." The cowards made the best of their way out of the church, which was never afterwards molested.

A rumour was brought to the Hotel Dieu, that the mob had set fire to the apartments, which was not without foundation. M. M. Caillard and Breschet repaired to the spot, and extinguished the flames; pointing out to the mob, that they were wantonly endangering the lives of the sick and wounded in the hospital, which was so contiguous to the palace. At about four o'clock, M. Desportes, followed by a train of medical students, all like himself girt with white aprons for the duties of their profession, and preceded by a litter, entered the court. He explained to the people, that the Hotel Dieu was now so thronged with the wounded, that it had become necessary to establish additional wards in the Archbishop's palace; he therefore supplicated them to depart, and no longer interfere with an object of such necessity. His representations were not without effect, the crowd gradually retired, and a post of the national guard arriving fortunately at that moment to second his exertions, the palace was at last evacuated.

Amongst other precious objects, which were preserved in the residence of the Archbishop, was a crucifix of ivory, inimitably carved, which Louis XIV. had presented to Madame de la Valliere on the day of her taking the vows; it had been discovered in 1791 in the Convent of the Carmelites at the time of the suppression of the monasteries; and in 1809 Bonaparte had selected it out of the *Garde Meuble*, to decorate the bedchamber of the Pope, for whose reception he had so sumptuously furnished this very palace.

During the late disorders this valuable relic was roughly handled, two severe blows had been inflicted on the image by a sharp instrument, in which state it was brought to the Hotel Dieu by two of the common people, who had been foremost among the plunderers, and who, on laying it down, fell on their knees, and embraced it saying, "*Mon Dieu, je vous aime.*"

The silver statue of the Virgin which Charles X. had presented to Notre Dame, was thrown out of the window on the pavement, and the pedestal broken. Upwards of thirty-three marcs of silver, composing the ornaments of this statue, were stolen, as well as the feet and the burnished base of the pedestal. The indi-

viduals who brought the statue in this mutilated condition to the *Hotel Dieu*, said on their entrance, "*Tenez, voila notre bonne mere que nous vous apportons.*"

M. de Quelen, the Archbishop of Paris, was during the days of July at his country seat at Conflans, where he usually passed the summer. On Saturday the 24th he had been to Neuilly for the purpose of giving confirmation to the Duc de Nemours and the young Princess. He had always been treated with consideration by the Orleans family. On Monday the 26th he came to Paris to hold a council, and having seen the ordinances in the Moniteur, he said to his grand vicars, "All this is very well upon paper, but we must be firm." He returned in the evening to Conflans, where he remained on the following days. On the Wednesday above five hundred wounded men were brought to the Hotel Dieu, those who accompanied them spoke of the Archbishop in terms of the highest exasperation; they called him a scoundrel, a villain who had given orders to fire on the people, and expressed their determination to find him out, and murder him.

M. Caillard, resident physician at the Hotel Dieu, then occupied in dressing his patients, listened with attention to these menaces. He

had been for many years the physician and private friend of the Archbishop, he saw that no time was to be lost, and he resolved to go at once to Conflans, and warn him of his danger. As soon as M. Dupuytren arrived with his assistants, he set out alone, on foot, and reached the Quai de la Rapée.

He had no sooner passed the barrier, than he overtook a band of men armed with poles and bludgeons, who were crying till they were hoarse, "*Vive l' Empereur!*" They stopped him, and one of them said, "You are a gendarme in disguise, going to Vincennes with orders to send powder to the troops."

"And you, you are a fool," replied M. Caillard; in what am I like to a gendarme? I am a physician of the Hotel Dieu. Look! here is my certificate."

"It is true," said another, "I recollect him; he is an honest chap, he put me on the starving list for six weeks."

"Well," said another, "we'll take him with us, he will be of use; if there's much fighting, he'll cure us if we are wounded—Come, halloo out *Vive l' Empereur!*"

M. Caillard repeated, as he was ordered, '*Vive l'Empereur,*' he then shouldered a pole, and proceeded side by side with them. The

wine merchants, whose hogsheads were exposed on the quay, were rolling them with great eagerness towards their cellars, sensibly alarmed at the appearance of these thirsty souls, whose throats were parched with crying, '*Vive l' Empereur:*' and in order to avert the storm, which threatened their property. they charitably said to the rabble,—"Go to such a house, and you will find arms."—A little further on this band was joined by another, which was marching towards Paris. They had a parley, when it was agreed to unite for one common expedition; which was, to besiege the house so charitably designated by the wine merchants. This point being settled, it was necessary to drink together to their success. As they went into the public house, M. Caillard seized his opportunity to escape.

On his arrival at Conflans, he found the Archbishop at breakfast with his grand vicars, —"A plate for M. Caillard."—"*Monseigneur*, this is not a moment to think of breakfast; I am come to save you, and without loss of time.—Listen to what I have just heard at the Hotel Dieu. The mob are eager to take your life, they are in quest of you, and as they know the road to Conflans, they will probably soon be here." M. de Quelen could not com-

prehend his meaning, he would not believe there was any danger, and did not seem disposed to take any measures for flight. "Monseigneur," added M. Caillard, "disguise yourself without delay, and depart, I cannot impress too strongly on your mind the danger which awaits you."

"But where then shall I go? To Gros Bois? It is true I should be well received, but it would be a very ungracious act towards the Princesse de Wagram. Besides, I neither will, nor ought to quit my diocese, in these times of peril. The pastor should remain in the middle of his flock."

"Monseigneur, I did not presume to propose it myself to you, but that is certainly the position most worthy of yourself, and perhaps the most safe. Come then to the Hotel Dieu, I myself will conceal you for the present." At this moment the Mayor of Charenton arrived saying, "Monseigneur, you have only just time to escape; the ruffians are at Bercy, where they have destroyed the Chateau;" (this was not true but he wished to alarm the prelate) "they are on their way to massacre you, we are all ready to die in your defence, but you will not the less fall a victim to their rage; they are even now perhaps at

the bottom of the avenue. Monseigneur, I conjure you in the most solemn terms to fly without further delay." The Archbishop at length consented to quit Conflans; when his eye was attracted by the Abbé Desjardins, a venerable old man of eighty, whose age and infirmities rendered him incapable of providing for his own safety. "Hear me," said the Archbishop to M. Caillard, "I give you fair notice, that I will not abandon the Abbé Desjardins. He has rendered me the greatest services, he has been in fact a very father to me, I will either save him with me, or I will remain to die with him." "But Monseigneur, the Abbé Desjardins incurs not the slightest risk, no one is excited against him, he is not even mentioned; you compromise your own safety without any necessity, for you must allow, that it is easier to facilitate the retreat of one individual than of two." The Abbé Desjardins on his side used every argument to induce the Archbishop to think only of his own safety. M. de Quelen was inexorable. The mayor also joined his entreaties. "Monseigneur," said he, "there is the curate of Conflans, who will be delighted to receive M. Desjardins under his roof, who will take the greatest care of him; I will be answerable

with my head, that no accident shall happen to him."

M. Caillard then said to the mayor. "It is all useless; I know the character of the Archbishop; he is a Breton; we shall never gain our point. There is nothing to be done, but to place them both in a carriage, and hasten their departure." The Archbishop and the Abbé Desjardins then exchanged their cassocks, for the usual great coats worn by the clergy, they placed themselves in a travelling caleche without armorial bearings, and took the road to Paris, by the new bridge over the Seine, and by the barrier de la Gare.

On their arrival at la Verrerie, they were surrounded by a troop of armed men, who opened the carriage door, and crossed their bayonets on the breast of the Archbishop, crying out. "They are curates, it is you that are the cause of all this."

"The cause of what? One cannot be the cause of that, which one knows nothing of. You see that we are only this instant arrived in Paris."

They all cried, "*Vive la Charte.*"

"Well then, *Vive la Charte,*" replied the Archbishop.

" He does not say it from his heart," said one of them. " Let us shoot him."

" You see that we had no intention of escaping from Paris, because we are come to it. We are going to the Hotel Dieu, where there are wounded to whom we may be serviceable."

" That is not true."

" I assure you that we are going to the Hotel Dieu."

" Well then go to the devil if you choose," said the same individual, shutting the door with violence.

The Archbishop conceived that this apparent incivility was meant as a cloak to more favorable intentions. The carriage moved on. The Archbishop really wished to proceed to the Hotel Dieu, and to his palace; but on approaching the bridge of Austerlitz, he observed a numerous crowd, which induced him to change his route, and drive to La Salpetriere.

The gate of La Salpetriere was closed. M. de Quelen addressed himself to the officer commanding the post of the line, and said, " I am the Archbishop of Paris, just arrived from Conflans, where I learnt the distressing news of what was passing in the capital, I could have wished to proceed to my own palace, but

the road is blocked up, I request you to grant me admittance to La Salpetriere."

The officer ordered the gates to be opened, and in a few minutes afterwards the military post was disarmed by the populace.

The Archbishop was received by the almoner in his dwelling, but there he was recognised at once by every one. It was an affecting sight to see all the old women in that house, which he had so often visited, falling at his feet, kissing his hands, and imploring his blessing.

The Archbishop sent to inform M. Caillard that he could not possibly reach either the palace or the Hotel Dieu. M. Caillard, when he returned from Conflans, had intimated to his friend M. Serres, at La Pitié, that the Prelate was coming to Paris, and urged him to receive him at his house. It was five o'clock when M. Serres learnt that the Archbishop was arrived at La Salpetriere, and at the same time he heard, that a young man, when informed of the circumstance, exclaimed, "I have two pistols, I wish to ascertain whether a disciple of Jesus can meet death with the same calmness, as a disciple of Saint Simon. I will blow out his brains with one pistol, and my own with the other." Upon this, he dispatch-

ed his own servant to give warning to M. Caillard. The latter hastened at once to La Salpetriere. He told the prelate that he was in danger of discovery, adding that he would be in greater surety under the roof of M. Serres, whose liberal opinions were generally known, and would shield him from all suspicion. M. Serres was personally known to the Archbishop; he had been placed in communication with him on several occasions relating to his office, and he generously accepted without hesitation the perilous trust proposed to him. The two friends repaired between nine and ten o'clock to Salpetriere, prepared to escort the Archbishop and his grand Vicar to their place of concealment. The priests of the establishment used every effort to detain them, the aged women and the paupers notwithstanding the late hour of the night flocked into the court, and threw themselves before the feet of the prelate, to implore a fresh benediction; in vain did M. Caillard attempt to disperse them, they hid themselves behind the hedge, and as soon as he had passed, resumed their former attitude. At last, with great difficulty, he succeeded in extricating his charge from their honest expressions of attachment; and the party pro-

ceeded in silence towards the Hotel de la Pitié, where was the residence of their new protector.

The Archbishop had put on the coat of M. Serres, who gave him his arm; M. Caillard conducted the Abbé Desjardins. At the corner of the Rue Poliveau they were met by two men, who examined them with attention: "That is M. Serres," said one; and they both passed on. The individual who made that remark was an old pupil of M. Serres, who easily recognised him, though he little thought that his former master was conducting the Archbishop of Paris to his house, as a place of concealment.

After the capture of the powder magazine at Ivry, as the contents were pillaged, and the barrels dispersed, one of the party, who had more forethought than the rest, proposed, that all the powder should be collected into one general depôt, which might supply their wants in case of an attack. The chapel which stands at the entrance of the burial ground Clamart, and which had been consecrated during three centuries, to the interment of the nuns, attached to the Hotel Dieu, was selected for this purpose; and it was from that depôt that all the powder, used on the Thursday during the

bloody combats on the left bank of the Seine, was derived.

Close to the fountain at the door of this depôt was stationed a sentinel, who cried, 'Qui vive!'—'Amis!'—Quels amis?'—'Viens voir.'—A patriot advanced, who recollected M. Serres, as the physician who had paid great attention to one of his comrades, when mortally wounded, in the Rue Buffon near the Pont d' Austerlitz. They were allowed to pass.

The event proved how much M. Caillard had acted with judgment in not allowing M. de Quelen to pass that night at La Salpetriere. It was generally known in the quarter, that he had been admitted, and those identical two men, who had met him without knowing it at the corner of the Rue Poliveau, belonged to a band of two hundred persons then laying in ambuscade to attack La Salpetriere early on the following morning. This in fact took place at four o'clock. Their object was to seize the person of the Archbishop. It was in vain to assert that he was not there. "He is there," they cried, "we know it, he was seen to enter; there is his carriage." At length it was admitted that he had been there, but had departed; and some one said, "It was a medical man who came to fetch him." Foiled in dis-

covering the Archbishop, they seized his carriage, which they conveyed to the Hotel de Ville. Among the pupils of the Ecole de Medicine, occupied in taking care of the wounded, were several who partook warmly of the popular prejudice against this prelate. They knew the intimacy which subsisted between him and M.Caillard,they were convinced that it was the latter, who had conducted M. de Quelen from La Salpetriere, and they had no doubt that he was concealed somewhere through his means; but M. Caillard was generally loved and esteemed by all the inmates of the hospital. Two of these young men, without any communication with each other, came successively to him, and said, "The people threaten to make a domiciliary visit at your dwelling; if the Archbishop is really there, entrust him to me, I will hide him in my room, and they shall pass over my body before they hurt a hair of his head."

"The proposal that you have just made," replied M. Caillard to each, "authorises me to speak to you with the utmost confidence: I have in fact concealed Monseigneur, but not in my own house; be not therefore under any anxiety, as, if this domiciliary visit does take place, they will not find him." M. Caillard

having publicly declared that it was very immaterial to him, whether they searched his apartments or not, the plan was abandoned.

The Archbishop remained three days under the roof of M. Serres, where he was treated with all the consideration and respect due to his character, his dignity, and his cruel position. M. Lisfranc, equally notorious for his bias towards liberal principles, and on that account the less liable to suspicion, shared with M. Serres in all his generous efforts to console and protect the prelate, who thus was indebted for his safety to two men, whose opinions were diametrically opposite to his own.

It was at the Hotel de la Pitié, that the Archbishop learnt, through the medium of the journals, the infamous report, that he and his prebendaries had fired on the people, and that on that account his palace had been destroyed.

Soon after his departure from Conflans, a troop of insurgents from Alfort, among whom were the pupils of the Veterinary College, arrived there with the declared intention of carrying off the Archbishop to Vincennes as a hostage, and threatening to shoot him in front of that fortress if the garrison refused to open the gates. Not finding the prelate, they committed every species of excess and disorder in

his house, drank the wine, broke open all the bureaus, presses, and closets, purloining the contents, among which were a telescope, and a portfolio filled with papers and letters. Some of these effects were carried to the Municipal Committee, where the portfolio was inspected and the letters read. M. de Lafayette, at the request of M. de Quelen, made at a later period several attempts to recover this portfolio, and restore it to him. When this banditti had quitted the premises, the Mayor of Conflans placed the seals on the house of the prelate, in order to preserve the furniture. At the end of three weeks, the seals were taken off at the requisition of M. Caillard, present, and acting on behalf of the Archbishop, and in presence of M. Sanquani Soulignè delegated by the Municipal Committee. The different effects belonging to the Archbishop were deposited in the hall of the Hotel de Ville, together with those which had been taken from the Cardinal de Rohan, who was stopped in his carriage at Vaugirard. The hat and decorations of a Cardinal became therefore accidentally mixed with the property of the Archbishop, which gave rise to a report at the Hotel de Ville, that M. de Quelen was a Cardinal in *petto*, and that he had already

received from Rome the insignia of that dignity. This idea was further strengthened by the discovery of the *pallium* in the Archbishop's palace, (an ornament which the Pope sends to all Archbishops and as a matter of favor to some bishops,) and which was mistaken for an ensign of a Cardinal also. It was impossible that the Archbishop could have been made a Cardinal, as he must have been presented by the King, and that ceremony had never taken place. Ever since the project of law for the conversion of the Rentes, to which in spite of the instances of M. de Villele, he was firmly opposed, and to the rejection of which his speech in the Chamber of Peers in a certain degree contributed, he had been out of favour at Court, some days after the tumults of July he sent to the Hotel de Ville the Abbè Quentin, Canon of Notre Dame and steward of the Archbishoprick, to claim some property carried off from the palace and from Conflans. Among other effects was a black coat with the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. The Abbè Quentin declared that this coat did not belong to the Archbishop, as he never wore black and was not a member of the Legion of Honour. A search was made in the pockets, when a paper was found, on which were written the follow-

ing words, "*Laissez passer M. Casimir Perrier,*" (signed) Baudé.

The Abbé Desjardins passed his time at the window of M. Serres's house, looking out at the barricades, notwithstanding the entreaties the Archbishop to the contrary, who at last said, "*En voila un qui ne s'y prend pas bien,*" It soon became evident that the Archbishop's retreat had transpired, and his friends resolved to provide a fresh refuge for him with the nuns of the hospital, by cutting through a partition wall, which separated their dwelling from that of M. Serres. The operation was performed with great secrecy during the night, the aperture was then carefully closed, and a large press placed in front to conceal it.

The nuns received their venerable guests with much respect, and hid them in a subterraneous chamber of narrow dimensions, both cold and damp; they gave them a pitcher of water and a bottle of wine, and as may be supposed they passed a sorry night. This new asylum was too contiguous to the first, to inspire much feeling of security; it was only adopted to gain time till one more eligible could be devised.

On the 31st, when M. Caillard had convinced himself that he was no longer an object of

suspicion, he determined to conduct the Archbishop at once to the Hotel Dieu. Preparatory to this scheme, he purposely walked about with M. Serres on the *Place de la Pitié*, within sight of the sentinel, not to give any umbrage to the military post; they were watching their opportunity to effect the escape of the Prelate, when suddenly they observed M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire arrive alone, talking to himself, and using the most violent gesticulations. They were all mutually acquainted; M. Serres indeed was intimate with him.

"What is the matter, M. Geoffroy?" said they, "you appear very much excited."

"Yes," said he, "I am furious. Would you believe that I have just heard certain individuals coolly say, 'It is reported that the Archbishop is concealed in Paris; those who are privy to it, have committed a great fault. It is a head which should be offered as a sacrifice to the people, in order to stop their mouths.' Is it possible to hear such language without losing one's temper? Well! I am not a *devot*, I have no acquaintance with the Archbishop, but I would conceal him under my own roof, if he needed an asylum, yes, I would conceal him."

"I can serve your object at once," said M.

Caillard, placing his hand on his arm. "The Archbishop has lodged for two days with M. Serres, where he is no longer in safety; reflect a moment, make up your mind, will you take him to your house?"

"I will not go from my word."

Without losing an instant, M. Caillard and M. Serres brought the Archbishop out by a back door. M. Geoffroy in his quality of professor at the *Jardin du Roi*, ordered the iron gate at the corner of the Rue Buffon to be opened, and the party entered. They crossed the *Jardin des Plantes* by moonlight, and reached the house of M. Geoffroy, through the private garden without any molestation. This time the Abbé Desjardins was left with the nuns of *La Pitié*, he was himself in no danger, and on the following day he was conducted to the Convent of the *Dames de St. Michel*, of which he was the Superior.

As soon as the party was safely arrived, M. Caillard said to M. Geoffroy, "Our first object now must be, to prevent all suspicion that the Archbishop is here. How many servants have you?"

"Four."

"Can you depend upon them?"

"Faith I know not."

"Endeavour then to keep the matter secret for a day or two, and in the interim, I will look out for another asylum for Monseigneur. You can say that it is a sick friend, who is come to Paris for advice, and is obliged to keep his room."

"Yes, but my wife knows nothing of it, I must go and fetch her; I believe she is not acquainted with the person of the Archbishop," having said this, he introduced her at once without any previous explanation. But as soon as Madame Geoffroy entered the room she held up her hands, and exclaimed, "Ah mon Dieu! Monseigneur l' Archevéque de Paris!" She remained some time speechless, then with that generous kindness, for which her sex is peculiarly distinguished, she eagerly added, "I understand the whole affair, I will take upon myself to wait upon Monseigneur, I alone will enter his room, I answer for the secret." M. de Quelen remained near a fortnight under this roof, where he was attended with the most delicate and respectful care, he passed the evenings in making lint for the wounded, with the Geoffroy family. At last he wished to go and rejoin his aged friend the Abbé Desjardins, at the Convent of the Dames de St. Michel.

During the period of his stay with M. Geoffroy, much anxiety was felt by M. Caillard both for the Archbishop and for his generous hosts, least any unforeseen accident should betray his secret, and expose them to the mercy of an enraged populace. It was on the 2nd of August that the Duchess of Orleans came to the Hotel Dieu, to visit the wounded men of July; and when her Royal Highness was surveying the different wards, M. Caillard took the liberty to slip privately into her hand a little note, to this effect, "The Duchess of Orleans is requested to give a safeguard to the Archbishop of Paris, whose life is in danger."

The Princess read it, looked at M. Caillard, and made him a sign to say nothing. Startled by an information, the laconic style of which only rendered it more alarming, before her departure she sent for M. Caillard and desired to have the address of the Archbishop. He not feeling authorised to give up the name of M. Geoffroy, mentioned that of M. Serres. On the same day he was summoned by an officer of the police to attend the Prefect. When he arrived, M. Girod de l' Ain said to him, "You have not indicated the real address of the Archbishop this morning, he is not at present with M. Serres, it is nevertheless indis-

pensable to know precisely the place of his abode, in order that measures may be taken to preserve him from the impending danger."

M. Caillard requested the Prefect, before he exacted this revelation, to give him the necessary time to consult with those persons, who, at his instigation, had offered an asylum to the Prelate. The Prefect replied, "that he hoped he might inspire him with sufficient confidence to waive this condition, more particularly as the Duchess of Orleans remained in a state of great anxiety, and he himself had received positive orders not to return to the Palais Royal that evening, without having taken the most effectual steps to ensure the safety of the Archbishop." M. Caillard then confiding implicitly in the probity of M. Girod de l'Ain, informed him that the Prelate was concealed at the house of M. Geoffroy de St. Hilaire, in the Jardin du Roi, and the government lost no time in taking him under its special protection.

On reading these details, our respect for the self styled heroes of July must be considerably abated; their excited passions produced the same excesses, which have sullied popular tumults in other times, and there is certainly no reason why history hereafter should hold

them up as models of patriotism, honesty, and heroism. There is however another class of men, who have been passed over in silence, whose conduct on this occasion may claim the warmest admiration. The courage, the composure, and the zeal, with which those public functionaries who presided over these royal institutions, did, even at the peril of their lives, fulfil the duties of their charge, and prevent the wanton effusion of blood, must at once place the French character in a most distinguished and amiable light. They present the type of the old *Chevalier Français loyal et preux*, and form a striking contrast to their ferocious adversaries. While these events were passing in the streets of Paris, two parties had been organized among the more influential classes, both ostensibly occupied with the means of restoring public tranquility, but each privately intent on directing the present crisis to the furtherance of their own views and objects. Both differed widely in opinion, both were jealous of each other; in one point only did they coincide, and that was in dislike to the rule of the Bourbons.

At the Hotel de Ville the republicans had rallied round Lafayette, in a tumultuous manner; they revived the old forgotten cry of

"Liberty and equality," they urged him to strike the iron while it was hot, and to seize this favorable opportunity to proclaim a Republic.

At the house of M. Laffitte, Thiers, Mignet, and the Orleans party were actively employed in promoting their favorite project; but many of the deputies, who had joined this assembly, entered not so warmly into their views; they were equally opposed to the republican ideas of the Hotel de Ville, they were anxious to put an immediate stop to the revolution, but they were not averse to accept any concessions of importance, which might be made from St. Cloud, and were only inclined to advocate the cause of the Duke of Orleans in preference to a Republic.

At the Hotel de Ville there appeared little disposition in that party to choose a King, or to content themselves with a mere change of dynasty. They saw with displeasure the meetings at Laffitte's house, and accused him openly of intriguing for the Duke of Orleans, without consulting their own leader Lafayette. Mons. de Remusat who had married the General's grand-daughter, went to the Hotel de Ville, and said to him, "General, if they form a monarchy, the Duke will be King;

if they form a Republic, you will be President. The alternative lays then between the Duke and you, will you take upon yourself the responsibility of a Republic?"

Lafayette was well inclined to yield to this suggestion; it had been the dream of his whole life, and allurements to realise it were not wanting; but he hesitated at the idea of the danger and the known opposition which would infallibly await it. He knew that the deputies (the 221) who were still popular, would strenuously oppose it; some even of those around him preferred the Duke to this violent alternative; Odillon Barrot and the General Gerard employed their eloquence in favor of the former. "I see no particular objection," said Lafayette, "he may do as well as another, perhaps the best we could choose, if such a choice must be made." He expressed his wish that at any rate the Duke should content himself with the title of Lieutenant General, and consult the nation afterwards as to the crown. He hoped by this modification that the royalty of the Duke of Orleans would be a Republican government, covered by way of form with the kingly mantle. He felt convinced that a Republic would be opposed by the national guard newly organised, and the fact now became evident,

that as its abolition hastened the fall of the monarchy, so its revival prevented a Republic.

One deputation from the people urged him to take the crown for himself and family. He replied, "You remind me of an anecdote of Marshal Saxe, to whom the French Academy offered a seat among its members; I can only say with him, 'Cela m'iroit comme une bague à un chat."

M. de Lafayette had on his own private authority reestablished the national guard of Paris. It was perhaps, politically speaking, the greatest fault which he could have committed, considering him as chief of the republican party. It is notorious and incontestable that the national guard, from old recollections, was the most formidable obstacle to the foundation of a Republic.

Lafayette, with the ascendancy that he then possessed over the inhabitants of the faubourgs, the students in the schools, in short over the fighting population of Paris, might on this day (Friday the 30th,) without opposition have realised that favorite vision of a Republic, which for forty years of his life had been uppermost in his mind. He lost one day in temporising, and on the following it might have been said to him, as it had just been said

to the ministers of Charles X. "It is too late." Thus the cause of legitimacy as well as that of the Republic forfeited their existence by a delay of only twenty-four hours.

Upon all occasions, when Lafayette has been engaged in any political convulsion, he has never failed to show the greatest boldness in provoking the catastrophe, but has always been wanting in energy and address to reap the fruits of his own efforts. His conduct was the same in this very instance. He acted with so little decision in the midst of this extraordinary success, that he gave rise to suspicion even among those partisans who were the most attached to him. It has even been credibly asserted that five or six hot-headed Republicans afterwards met, and absolutely deliberated, whether they should not blow out the brains of Lafayette, from a conviction that he was a traitor to their cause; and that when the moment had arrived to ensure the triumph of the popular party, he had flinched from striking the blow, solely from a recollection of his feudal origin, and those aristocratic feelings which are never entirely effaced from the breast of a French nobleman.

While indecision and uncertainty ruled in the councils at the Hotel de Ville, the party,

assembled at Laffitte's, began at once to act with more concert and rapidity to carry off the crown in favor of the Duke of Orleans. Thinking their plot sufficiently matured, M. Thiers was dispatched, as organ of the party, to Neuilly, to communicate with the family. M. Thiers mounted on horseback accompanied by M. Scheffer and M. Chaulin, officer of the national guard. They had some difficulty in making their way through the different military posts, which surrounded the capital, not less in avoiding the suspicious inquisition of the people, who were jealous of every movement; at length they arrived in the morning at Neuilly. All the gates of the park were strictly locked; the porters at the lodge demurred at giving admittance to any one, and many representations were made, before M. Thiers could obtain an entrance into the Chateau. At this moment the Duke, who was the real object of his visit, quitted Neuilly, to avoid all personal communication with intruders. On being ushered into the drawing-room, M. Thiers found himself in the presence of the Duchess, of whom he earnestly asked permission to see the Prince. The answer was made, "that he was gone." Thiers insisted on the necessity of a meeting; he urged that the moment was

decisive; that his communication was of a nature which admitted no delay; that a mutual understanding was indispensable, as involving interests of the highest importance, which must then in one way or another be finally and irremediably adjusted. The Duchess affirmed, in a manner which left no room for the slightest doubt, that the Prince had taken his departure; she at the same time expressed her readiness to listen to whatever he might wish to say; she assured him that it should be repeated with the strictest fidelity even in a *few minutes* to the Duke, and receive a prompt reply on his part. The Duchess then desired that Madame Adelaide should be summoned, who shortly afterwards entered the room accompanied by Madame Montjoye. The conversation now began, and took a very serious tone; as the Princesses were evidently labouring under the most terrific apprehensions of the passing events at Paris, and at the same time were impressed with certain scruples as to the result. Madame Adelaide said to M. Thiers, that the Orleans family took a lively interest in all the sentiments of the Parisians; that it had unceasingly sided with the opposition, and warmly espoused its cause and wishes; but that the greatest caution now was necessary,

least an over eager haste to change the dynasty should invest the present revolution with the character of a court intrigue. "Europe," said Madame Adelaide, "is liable to make this mistake, and to believe that the overthrow of Charles X. has been effected by the manœuvres of the Duke of Orleans, rather, than, as is really the case, by the force of public opinion. If in addition to all the dangers which now menace the liberal party from the troops of Charles X. and his adherents in La Vendee. We must likewise look forward to a declaration of hostilities from Europe, the cause of liberty will then be irremediably lost."

"Permit me, Madame," said M. Thiers earnestly, "to give you a more correct idea of the real situation of France. We will no longer have Charles X. because we are determined to have a representative monarchy, with which he is declared to be incompatible. We profess to have faith in the era of 1688, and we have decided upon creating a parallel one in France. Let our James II. depart, we will do him no injury, but let him depart. It is necessary that we should have a new dynasty, which shall owe its crown to us; and being bound by that obligation, shall readily conform itself to those limits, which the represen-

tative system assigns to it. All the world will be convinced that you have never sought to obtain the crown; it is in the present day so beset with perils, that few or none would voluntarily court such a trying distinction. But take it into your culculations, all are by no means animated with the same views, or willing to confine their aspirations within the same bounds. On one point we are all unanimous, and that is, the exclusion of Charles X.; but there are some, who to avoid the difficulties of a change of dynasty, would be contented with Henri V.; others, who still attached to the memory of Napoleon, would prefer the Duc de Reichstadt; and a third party who would not scruple to proclaim a Republic. There is an open field—every change is now upon the cards, a quick decision is indispensable. I have no hesitation in saying that there is a preponderance of political considerations in favor of the Duke of Orleans, which overbalances every other project; but all these advantages may be lost to him in a few hours; and those, who are the most expeditious, will be the most adroit. The palm will be gained by him who is earliest in the field.

"With respect to Europe, it would be an egregious error to imagine that the Royalty

assumed by the Duke of Orleans would alienate her from France, on the contrary, it may be a real means of conciliation, when she sees that at such a moment we have stopped short at a monarchy, and that we do not rush like madmen into the dangerous experiment of a Republic. Under such circumstances it never can be her interest or policy to risk a general war. There is also another argument, Madame, to be adduced, which strikes me as most decisive and important. Thrones are in general the reward of valour and of victory. William III. was a great man, he was upheld by the influence of his name, and the assistance of a powerful army. Let the Duke of Orleans make his appearance this very day in the centre of Paris, let him openly declare that he makes common cause with the revolution, that he is come to share the dangers of the Parisians, let him place himself at their head to support their rights, and he will then have identified himself at once with the revolution of July. I have no wish to conceal from you, that this course may still be attended with considerable danger; that Charles X. remains firm at St. Cloud, and that he has formidable resources at his disposal; but your position is such, that success can only be attained by courting risk

and perils, which will ultimately prove your most solid titles to the throne. No time is to be lost, the Duke must make his decision, the vital interests of France can no longer be left in doubt and abeyance."

Madame Adelaide, strongly moved by this last consideration, rose from her seat, and said to M. Thiers, "If you firmly believe that the adhesion of our family can be serviceable to the revolution, we give it with the greatest readiness. A woman is of no importance; she may be perhaps easily committed—I am ready to go to Paris. Let whatever God pleases happen to me, I will share the fate of the Parisians. One only condition I shall make, that either M. Laffitte or the General Sebastiani shall come in person to fetch me from hence."

M. Thiers considering that one individual of the family, it mattered not which, was quite sufficient to compromise all, looked upon this proposal as satisfactory. "This very day, Madame," said he, "you ensure the crown to your own branch." It was then agreed to write to the Duke of Orleans. M. Thiers in a hasty manner committed to paper those arguments which he thought most likely to influence the decision of the Prince; and

having now accomplished his mission, he took his leave. Resuming his road to Paris, he used the utmost dispatch to rejoin Laffitte and the General Sebastiani, that he might detail to them the result of his journey, he met with the same difficulties, which had impeded his progress before, but he at last reached in safety the Rue d' Artois.

It was one o'clock when Thiers returned from Neuilly, and the Deputies had already quitted the house of Laffitte; although M. Berard had in this interim prevented the Duc de Mortemart from going thither, he had nevertheless apprised the Deputies, that that nobleman had some important communications to make to them, and they had in consequence decided to adjourn to the usual seat of their deliberations, the Chamber of Deputies, in order to receive him.

Thiers then proceeded to the Palais Bourbon, where he gave a full account to Laffitte and Sebastiani of all that he had done and obtained. Both these gentlemen considered, with reason, that the decided step taken by the Princess must infallibly commit the whole family; but what they considered of far more importance was, the authority which it gave them, boldly to assert, that the Duke of Orleans was favour-

ably disposed to accept the crown. From that moment, and during the whole afternoon, they diligently circulated rumours in every quarter, that an individual of the Orleans branch was on the road to Paris, and that the whole family might shortly be expected. As the Duc de Mortemart did not make his appearance, the revolution gained ground. The Orleanist Deputies, Laffitte, Sebastiani and Dupin (the elder,) made converts. The Chamber passed a vote inviting the Duke of Orleans to come to Paris. M. de Remusat upon this came to M. Thiers, and said, "The Duc de Broglie commissions me to tell you, that you are going on very fast, perhaps too fast, that it is by no means necessary as yet to choose a King, it would be indeed quite sufficient to name a Lieutenant General." Almost all the Deputies joined in this opinion to give no further powers to the Prince, than those of Lieutenant General of the kingdom, and this determination being approved unanimously, the Chamber proceeded to name five commissioners, who should carry up this resolution to the Chamber of Peers.

On this day, the 30th, M. de Talleyrand

wrote to the Duke of Orleans strongly advising him to accept the office of Lieutenant General; it is asserted that on the preceeding evening he had written to admonish him, that he could under no pretext be Regent, except in the name of Henri V. These two opinions are not irreconcileable at such an interval, as in the heat of revolution how many changes may take place in one single day; and who knows better how to avail himself of them than M. de T. The tricoloured flag was now planted all over Paris, the statues of Louis XIV. on the Place des Victories, and of Henri IV. on the Pont Neuf, held it in their royal hands; a striking inconsistency, which excited the gaiety of the crowd, and the reflexions of the philosopher. One of the populace on placing this emblem of revolution in the hand of Henri IV. exclaimed, "*Toi, mon vieux, tu ne faisois pas tirer sur ton peuple,*" which did not do much credit to his knowledge of history.

In the afternoon the Chamber of Deputies selected by ballot twelve of its members, to go and offer to the Duke of Orleans the Lieutenancy General of the Kingdom. The Prince was not at the Palais Royal. M. M. Dupin and Persil went to Neuilly, in consequence of which a messenger was dispatched to him at

Rainey, from whence he returned immediately to the Chateau. The deputation from the Chamber having sent him a message to Neuilly, he received it himself at the gate of his park, and read it by torch-light. He then set out on foot for Paris, at nine o'clock in the evening, accompanied by M. M. de Berthoes, Heymes, and Oudard. Madame Adelaide made for him a tricoloured cockade with some ribbons, which she placed in his button-hole. He was no sooner arrived than he sent a servant with his compliments to M. Lafayette at the Hotel de Ville.

During this time his partisans caused bills to be printed and stuck up in Paris to the following inflammatory purport.

"The ex-King Charles X. does not consider himself as conquered. By a royal ordinance issued this morning from St. Cloud, he has placed the Duke of Orleans out of the pale of the law, because he has embraced the cause of the people; and he orders all those whom he still dares to call his subjects, to arrest him.

"The Duc de Chartres is marching to the assistance of Paris, at the head of his regiment."

While these events were passing in Paris, the Duc de Raguse commander-in-chief of the Royal troops, wrote as follows to the King, on Wednesday the 28th, dated nine o'clock in the morning.

"I have already had the honor yesterday of reporting to your Majesty the dispersion of the crowds which disturbed the tranquillity of the Capital.

"This morning they have reassembled in greater numbers, and with more desperate intentions. It is no longer a riot, it is a revolution. The urgency of the case is such, that I beseech your Majesty seriously to reflect on some means of pacifying the public mind. The honor of the crown may still be saved, to-morrow perhaps it will be too late. I am occupied in making the same military arrangements for to-day which I did yesterday. The troops will be under arms at noon, but I expect with impatience the orders of your Majesty."

The following dispatch was again forwarded by the Marshal at half past three o'clock on the same day.

"M. M. Casimir Perrier, Laffitte, Mauguin, Generals Gerard, and Lobau, have just quitted me, they said that the object of their visit was

to demand a cessation of hostilities. I replied that it was my most earnest wish to make the same request to them, but they made it as the condition of their cooperation to this effect, that the ordinances should be recalled. I told them, that being invested with no political power, I could not myself enter into any engagement of that nature. The conversation lasted during some time, and ended in their request that I would transmit these particulars to your Majesty.

" I beg to add my conviction of the necessity, that your Majesty should without further delay take advantage of these overtures."

The Duc de Raguse sent this communication to the King by his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel Komierowsky, whom he also charged to give verbally every explanation as to the state of Paris and the situation of affairs to his Majesty.

About six o'clock in the evening M. de Komierowsky returned with his answer. He gave the following account of his reception.

" On my arrival at St. Cloud I was ushered into the King's presence, to whom I delivered the letter of the Marshal, and entered into a detail of what was passing in Paris, laying great stress on the necessity of coming to a

speedy decision. I explained to his Majesty that it was not only the populace of Paris, but the entire population of the environs, which was in a state of insurrection; to this I could bear ample testimony myself, as on my road through Passy, several shots had been fired at me, not by the common people, but by men of a more respectable class.

"The King replied that he would read the dispatch, and I retired to wait his commands. Having passed some time in fruitless expectation, I requested the Duc de Duras to go to his Majesty, and implore an answer; but he told me that the laws of etiquette forbade him from taking such a liberty. At the expiration of half an hour I was recalled by the King into his cabinet, who delivered to me no written instructions, but only charged me with his orders to the Marshal, to stand firm, to unite his forces on the Carousel and the Place de Louis XV., and to act on the enemy with masses; these last words he repeated twice. The Duchesse de Berri and the Dauphin were both present in the room, but said nothing." As M. de Komierowsky took this opportunity of touching upon the serious aspect of the insurrection, the King told him to be brief. As he returned through the suite of apartments,

he was surrounded by the courtiers and different officers of the household, who made various enquiries; all seemed to be in a perfect state of security, much enraged against the exciters of revolt, but quite incredulous as to their success. The Court passed these three days in giving unimportant directions, in the expectation of good news from Paris, and the disbelief of those which were unfavorable, treating the bearers of such reports with ill humour, and affecting to doubt their veracity.

The day was passed in the usual routine of court ceremony; in the morning, the mass, and the audiences; in the evening, the rubber of whist with its formalities; and it was thus, while the earthquake was rumbling in the neighbourhood that precautions were taken to avoid it.

Many illnatured comments have been made on this whist party by the malevolent, as if Charles X. had really occupied himself purposely with this trifling amusement, while surrounded by such imminent dangers; but those who have lived in courts must know, that the daily life is regulated by a monotonous uniformity, which is not to be infringed, because a variety of private interests are connected with its existence.

Charles X. did not of his own accord propose the game, but every evening at a stated hour the lord in waiting approached his Majesty and said, "Sire, the card table is prepared, and your party is formed."

On this evening of the 28th, the usual ceremony took place, and the King indeed sat down mechanically in his accustomed manner; we all become gradually the creatures of habit, particularly as we advance in life. But the distant murmur of cannon was still audible, and the echo of civil war resounded in the vale below the chateau; Charles was evidently disturbed, any idea of amusement was little in unison with his feelings, the cards were left untouched, he rose from his chair, and went out on the balcony, where he remained some time looking towards Paris with considerable anxiety.

On the evening of Thursday the 29th, this form was dispensed with, the lord in waiting did not announce the card table; the din of war had ceased, and it was confidently expected that the Duc de Mortemart would on the following day be installed as prime minister in the *Hotel des Affaires etrangeres;*—an arrangement appeared certain. The King was justified in forming this conclusion, in feeling the

same conviction as those around him, and if he had not himself the same confidence in the result, it still became necessary to show it, that he might not dishearten his followers. The scene in the great drawing room was curious, as described by a bystander. Charles X. was seated at the card-table, as if preparatory to the game; he was engaged in earnest conversation with the Duc de Mortemart, who was leaning forward to listen with greater attention; the Duchesse de Berri on the other side, much agitated, was talking with great warmth to the Duc de Luxembourg; at a little distance was the Duc de Duras, who communed in a low voice with two or three individuals attached to the household. It would be thought that no evil constructions could be drawn from such a position, but this was the game of whist, the subject of so much animadversion and blame, which was afterwards cited as a proof of the want of proper feeling shown by this unfortunate family.

Having just glanced at the nomination of the Duc de Mortemart, I may give the details of that short lived appointment.

The Duke, who had been for some time ill of an intermittent fever, was on his journey to the baths; when at a short distance from

Neauphle, he was overtaken by the paymaster of his company, who had rode express to inform him of the issue of the ordinances, and the consequent tumults in Paris. This was on Wednesday the 28th. M. de Mortemart, on receiving this intelligence, immediately altered his destination, and set out for St. Cloud to take up his service as Captain of the Guard.

When he stopped to change horses at Versailles, the populace having discovered that he belonged to the King's household, assailed him with a volley of stones, his *caleche* was damaged, his servant wounded, and he himself narrowly escaped from serious injury. A picket of the national guard then interfered and escorted him to the iron gates of the barrier. It was ten o'clock at night when the Duke arrived at St. Cloud. He requested permission to see the King, wishing to inform him of the situation of Versailles, which, notwithstanding the short distance, seemed little known to the inhabitants of the palace; after waiting an hour in suspense, he was told by the Duc de Duras, that his Majesty was in bed and could only receive him early the next morning. M. de Mortemart, much disappointed, passed the night in great agitation.

At six o'clock on Thursday he went to the King without being announced.

" Ah! you are there," said the King, " you are quite recovered ?"

" No, sire, on the contrary I am worse than ever."

" How is that ?"

" Yes, sire, the ordinances and their results have made me very ill."

" Bah! Bah! It is nothing, do not be out of spirits. You see things in a false light."

When M. de Mortemart had related all that he had witnessed at Versailles, and expressed his fears for the safety of the Monarchy, the King, who seemed little moved by the communication, closed the interview by quietly dismissing him. About eleven o'clock the Duke made another attempt and entered the King's room, under the pretext of service as Captain of the hundred Swiss. M. M. d' Argout and Semonville had just arrived from Paris, as well as the Ministers, but the King had not yet seen them. M. de Mortemart resumed the previous conversation with all his energy, he dwelt on the dangers of the approaching crisis, he told him that even with 100,000 men, he now could not enter Paris, and urged him mostemphatically to revoke the fatal ordinances.

The King in return showed a most obstinate resistance, " I will not," said he, " mount on the scaffold, as my brother did. I will not retract a single step."

The Dauphin was present, but said not a word; he had been rather out of favor since his refusal to join the Martignac ministry. Seeing at length that he could make no impression, M. de Mortemart retired in a state of great discouragement.

M. M. Semonville and d' Argout had been sent with a conciliatory message that the recall of the ordinances and an immediate change of ministry might produce an amicable arrangement. They had arrived nearly at the same time with the Ministers. M. de Semonville said to Prince Polignac, that he wished not to deprive him of the merit of revoking the ordinances, that the moments were precious, but he would await the deliberation of the council. M. M. Polignac and Peyronnet went in to the King; soon after a *huissier*, summoned M. de Semonville; he found Prince Polignac at the door, who said to him, " You best know the duty you fulfil in coming here under such circumstances; you accuse me, I have told the King you were here, you may speak the first."

M. de Semonville relates his interview in the following terms.

" I have always thought that the resolutions of the King, which I wished to combat on entering his cabinet, were of long standing, deeply rooted and personal, the result of a system, in which religion and politics held an equal sway. If I had had any doubts on this head, they would have been speedily dissipated by this melancholy interview. Every time that I approached this system of the King, I was repulsed with the most unshaken firmness, he would not even take into consideration the disasters of Paris, which he thought were exaggerated, much less the storm, which threatened his head and dynasty. I only succeeded in shaking his resolution at last by an appeal to his feelings. After having tried every other argument, I dared to make him responsible for the fate of Madame la Dauphine, now travelling in the provinces, when I forced him to understand that an hour or a minute's delay on his part might compromise her safety. If the tumults now raging in Paris should spread to any city or commune, through which she was passing, what then might be her fate if the authorities were unable to protect her? I impressed upon his mind that he was wilfully

condemning her to the only remaining misfortune, from which a life, spent in grief and tears, had been hitherto exempted.

"The King was visibly affected, he even shed tears, his severity disappeared, his resolution faltered, his head sank on his breast, and he said with a low voice, but with considerable emotion, 'I will tell my son to write and assemble the council."

During this interview the King spoke much of Louis XVI. and of the scaffold; it was his fixed idea that the concessions of that monarch had proved his ruin, and he would never imitate his example.

When M. de Semonville represented to him the dangers, which threatened himself and La Dauphine at this moment, the King said, "He who is always prepared to appear before God fears not death; Madame la Dauphine like myself is prepared to die." M. de Semonville said him, "Sire, to-morrow at noon there will neither be King, nor Dauphin, nor Duc de Bordeaux." The King looking incredulous, replied ironically, "You will give me till one o'clock."

"No, sire, not till half past twelve."

When M. de Semonville retired, the ministers were introduced in their turn. A council

was held, at which it was decided that the King should revoke the ordinances, and change the ministry.

Prince Polignac pointed out the Duc de Mortemart as the most proper person to send with this intelligence to the Parisians. The King authorised him to make the necessary communication, and summoned the Duke to attend him in his cabinet. That nobleman was not to be found, he had retired with an aching heart to the park, and directed his steps to the *porte jaune*, at the end of the Trocadero, where a division of his company was stationed. A report was current that the insurgents menaced an attack on that point, and he wished still to share the dangers of a cause, which he felt was becoming hourly more hopeless.

The King was desirous to have the approbation of the Dauphin, but that Prince refused to sanction the new measures; he at the first resisted firmly, and then retired in order to avoid further discussion. A fresh council was held, hours were lost while minutes were so precious: then came the news from Paris of the evacuation of the capital by the royal troops, which was soon after followed by the arrival at St. Cloud of the Duc de Raguse, with the remains of his army. All these cir-

cumstances tended to increase the delay and uncertainty, which governed all the movements of this luckless day. At last the servants dispatched in quest of M. de Mortemart, conducted him to the Palace; he was met by Prince Polignac, who explained to him the substance of what had passed, adding, that the King had resolved to name him president of the new cabinet. "I beseech you," he replied, "to inform his majesty, that I will defend his Royal person at the head of my company, to the very last drop of my blood, but that on no consideration will I undertake a political responsibility in any affair, much less in this." Having said this, he returned to the park, to visit his posts. Again was he summoned to the chateau, and ushered into the King's closet. Charles X. first said to him, "You have seen Polignac?"

"Yes, Sire, I have seen him, he has indeed made to me proposals, which I cannot accept."

The King then added, "I am become a convert to your opinions, I believe that the situation of affairs is more pregnant with difficulties than I had imagined in the morning. I have reason to think that a new ministry, of which you should be the head, might effect an accommodation. I have therefore nominated

you President of the Council and I revoke the ordinances."

"Sire, I do not feel myself capable to fulfil your wishes, I beseech your majesty to select another."

The King would listen to no refusal, he pressed the matter warmly, he even insisted, but all was in vain. "Here," said he, "is your nomination countersigned by M. de Chantelauze. You are from this moment my President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs." Mortemart declined the paper; he retreated as the King advanced, till he was hemmed in against the wall, holding his hands behind his back to avoid a contact, when he suddenly felt the nomination thrust into his military sash. He made an effort to give it back, when the King with that insinuating manner which he knew so well how to assume according to the men and the circumstances, said to him, "What! you refuse to consent in an occasion which may save my crown, my life, perhaps that of my whole family. I had expected more from your known loyalty and devotion." Then observing that he began to waver, he added, "I shall see with satisfaction Gerard and Perrier ministers with you. You will understand with each other to form a

Council." M. de Mortemart painfully affected said, " Sire, you use arguments which I am unable to resist; I accept the office; but let your Majesty never forget the words, which I am about to utter. Should I succeed in re-establishing the royal authority in Paris, it can only be at the price of grievous concessions, and which the urgency of the moment will extort from me. There can be no doubt that I shall be made responsible for all the consequences. If I fail in my negociations, the prospect for myself is not less disheartening, fortunate will it be indeed for me, if I am not accused of betraying my trust. These, Sire, are the sad and heart breaking auspices under which I assume a dignity, so highly prized and envied by the world in general. I assume it indeed, but under one condition,—that the council formed, and the crisis passed, I may give in my resignation and retire into private life."

On the following day, (30th,) M. de Mortemart was at the King's bedside by five o'clock in the morning, with the new ordinances; which his Majesty signed on his pillow. He proceeded in his carriage through Boulogne as far as the gate, which leads from that village into the wood, he there alighted, and continued his journey to Paris on foot, through the Bois

de Boulogne, where a part of the garde royal was encamped. He was accompanied by Count d' Argout who on the preceding evening had gone with Semonville to the Hotel de Ville, from thence alone to Laffitte, and had returned at night to St. Cloud with all the information he could collect.

As they had no passport the soldiers arrested their progress, the Duke became angry, and they were proceeding to violence, when a Captain of the garde recollected his person, and made the proper excuses. He informed the travellers that all the avenues to Paris from St. Cloud were impassable, and he counselled them to regain the Versailles road, and attempt an entrance by the *Barriere de Passy*. M. de Mortemart followed this advice, but when he had walked on for a considerable distance in that direction, he learnt that his arrival was expected, and the mob were prepared forcibly to oppose his admission into the town. The only remaining chance was by a tedious and circuitous route; they crossed the *Pont de Grenelle*, and after considerable fatigue reached the *Barriere de Vaugirard*, through which they entered Paris without observation. Their first destination was the house of M. Laffitte; in proceeding thither they met, at the corner of

the *Rue neuve des Mathurins*, M. Berard, who recognising M. d' Argout, invited both into his house, where they found the General Mathieu Dumas. There M. Berard recounted to them all that had passed that morning at Laffitte's, and informed the Duc de Mortemart, that such was the disorderly conduct of the mob in the Rue d' Artois, that in order to avoid them, that deputy had quitted his house by a back door. As the Duke still insisted on proceeding thither, M. Berard added, "You will not find him at home, and the attempt will be attended with danger; if you persist in your resolution, I will accompany you, but I cannot answer for your safety or my own, if the people find out the object of your visit." Seeing no chance of success, the Duke resolved on making his way to the Luxembourg, in the hope of finding some assistance in the Chamber of Peers to forward his mission. When they had arrived at the Marché St. Germain, his strength began to flag; the fatigue and anxiety had so debilitated him, that M. d' Argout was obliged to support him to his house in the *Rue Garanciere*, and there induce him to take some refreshment. From thence they both repaired to the Hotel of M. de Semonville, and as a preliminary proceeding sent the new

ordinances to the office of the Moniteur for immediate publication. It was now eleven o'clock; those few Peers, who were in Paris, had assembled; their number did not amount to more than eighteen, as the great majority were absent at their estates, where they were tranquilly awaiting the opening of parliament fixed for the third of August.

The Duc de Mortemart announced the new arrangements, made by the King at St. Cloud, and the Peers assembled at the Luxembourg empowered M. de Semonville, in the absence of the Chancellor Pestoret, to consult with the Deputies, as to what was most proper to be done.

At twelve o'clock, M. Sauvo the editor of the Moniteur came to declare that he could not publish the new ordinances, without an authority from the Chamber of Deputies, or from the Municipal Committee. He also added that no other printers would undertake the office, from an apprehension that their presses would be destroyed by the populace.

M. de Mortemart was in despair, he could not endure the idea that he might be accused of not having strained every nerve to support the cause and merit the confidence of the King. He was bent on going himself to the

Chamber of Deputies, and to the Hotel de Ville, as bearer of the ordinances. His colleagues represented to him his weak state of health, and the long journey of near four leagues, which he had already performed on foot, exposed to a burning sun; they told him that the barricades would render the use of a carriage impossible, and that his persistance in the idea of delivering the ordinances himself would have no other effect than to delay, or perhaps entirely prevent their reaching their destination, as he was totally unequal to the exertion, and would faint on the way.

M. de Semonville remarked, that at any rate it was necessary to find some one who would undertake the commission.

Upon this the Comte de Sussy, feeling for the painful position of M. de Mortemart, handsomely offered to supply his place in a mission, which was certainly not unattended with risk and danger; at the same time he stipulated, that he would not clothe himself with any political character, and that he would declare the same openly to the Chamber of Deputies, on delivering the royal ordinances.

M. de Mortemart gave him a letter for General Gerard, one for Casimir Perrier, and one for General Lafayette; having received

which, the Comte de Sussy instantly departed.

When the representative of M. de Mortemart had arrived at the Chamber of Deputies, and made known the object of his visit, the members refused to receive the ordinances, as coming from a government which was no longer recognised. M. de Sussy then repaired to the Hotel de Ville, where he found Lafayette surrounded by workmen, national guards, and a deputation from Paris and the banlieue. Lafayette received M. de Sussy with his usual amenity, heightened by the joy which he experienced on finding himself at the head of a popular revolution. He listened graciously to the recital of what had passed at the Chamber of Deputies, and said in reply—"This is the proudest day of my life, you see me surrounded by friends who, like myself, were weary of the despotism under which we had groaned during the last fifteen years. I see with satisfaction that you are come to join our ranks. I have no secrets from those around me, allow us then all to take cognizance of your message."

"By all means," replied M. de Sussy, "it is desired by those who sent me, that the greatest publicity should be given to the ordinances of the 29th, which revoke those of the 25th."

At these words the hall resounded with exclamations against M. de Sussy. "How can a Peer of France, coming from St. Cloud, dare to bring to the people of Paris the ordinances of a king dethroned by the general will? Down with the Bourbons! That family has ceased to reign, a Republic alone can meet the wishes of France."

"My friends," said Lafayette, raising his voice, "M. de Sussy is not come from St. Cloud, listen to what he wishes to say." The murmurs being appeased by the voice of Lafayette, M. de Sussy hastened to explain that he only supplied the place of M. de Mortemart who was ill. Lafayette then requested M. Odillon Barrot to read aloud the letter of the Duc de Mortemart, and the ordinances of the 29th, which excited fresh and more violent clamours against the King and the Dauphin; these were followed by various democratical expressions. "You see," said Lafayette, with a smile, to M. de Sussy, "you must resign yourself to your fate; there is an end to the Bourbons." M. de Sussy appeared quite resigned, but he said to the General, that the Duc de Mortemart wished to have a private interview with him. "It is no longer time," said Lafayette, "Charles X. might have saved

himself the trouble of annulling the ordinances of the 25th, as it was no longer in his power to have enforced them; we have annulled them ourselves in the three glorious days of July. As for the new ministry, I have nothing, and will have nothing to say to it. M. de Sussy requested the General to give him some voucher of a receipt, and to order the insertion of the ordinances in the Moniteur. The General replied, "That it did not rest with him alone, that it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Municipal Committee. I am sorry," added he, "for M. de Mortemart, whom I have long known—we are indeed related—he is a man of honour, whose character I love and esteem, though he is rather more of a Royalist than myself. His visit to me could have no possible results, as we could not understand each other. His mission is, to defend the interests of a fallen monarchy; mine on the other hand emanates from the sovereign people, who have charged me to defend Paris against its foes, and if we are attacked, I hope to prove myself worthy of such a trust.—This is my part to act. I know no other."

"You are right, General," cried the members of the patriotic deputation, "we will always stand by you. Charles X. has ceased

to reign, and we want no messengers from him."

At this moment the Comte de Lobau entered the hall; "General," said Lafayette to him, "here is M. de Sussy, who wishes to make a communication to the Municipal Committee, would you have the goodness to conduct him thither?"

On the road, Count Lobau asked M. de Sussy if he were the son of the former minister of the Emperor; and if he had now come as a partisan of Charles X. Of these two questions the Comte de Sussy replied to the first in the affirmative, and to the second in the negative. "In that case," said the General, "as the son of a former minister of the great Napoleon, you may with all safety make your appearance in the midst of us;—and the shade of the great Napoleon introduced M. de Sussy into the committee room of these insurgents, whom his Imperial Majesty, had he been alive, would have ordered to be shot at a minute's notice. They found there M. M. de Schonen, Mauguin, A. de Puyraveau, and three other individuals. M. de Puyraveau, who received the ordinances from M. de Sussy, read them out aloud, and immediately declared, that they were inadmissible, and not to be published, as

they had arrived three days too late; that the voice of the people had pronounced the downfal of the King and of the Royal family; that the sentence was irreversible; that the people had purchased with their blood the right to choose their own form of government, and never would consent again to acknowledge a master in a king; that a republican form like that of the United States was far preferable to a monarchy, *called* constitutional." M. de Sussy feeling no wish to reply to this string of observations, contented himself with demanding the deposit of the ordinances.

"Sir," said Audry de Puyraveau, "take back your ordinances, it is not to receive them that this committee holds its sittings, much less to order their publication; such a step in fact would amount to a recognition. Charles X. has renounced his right to the throne from the hour that he signed those of the 25th." M. de Sussy remarked that the Committee having once read out the ordinances, had virtually taken charge of them; that they were no longer in his custody; and having thus fulfilled his mission, he only wished to obtain some certificate from the hands in which he had now deposited them. M. de Puyraveau

angrily exclaimed, " I repeat to you, sir, that you shall not re-cross this threshold, without taking away your ordinances." The Comte de Lobau interfered by saying, " The only course which you can adopt is, to return to General Lafayette, he alone can take upon himself to give you the acknowledgment which you require for M. de Mortemart."

M. de Sussy then returned to the Hotel de Ville. But the General was occupied with business, and could not be seen; there was no one in the saloon but Odillon Barrot, who said to M. de Sussy, " the ordinances have been recalled twenty-four hours too late; the ministry has been changed twenty-four hours too late; and mark my words, if the Duke of Orleans is not proclaimed to-day, Lieutenant General of the kingdom, to-morrow it will also be twenty-four hours too late.

M. de Sussy having reiterated to Lafayette his request to be furnished with a document for M. de Mortemart, the General replied, " I have too high an esteem for the character of the Duc de Mortemart to think of leaving him in a position unworthy of a man of honor; write yourself the answer, which you think may be satisfactory, and I will sign it."

On the observation of the other, that a letter written by the General would have more weight, and better answer the purpose of M. de Mortemart, than one with a simple signature, Lafayette sat down to his desk and wrote as follows:—

" Mons. le Duc,

" I have received the letter, which you have done me the honor to write to me, with all those sentiments, which your personal character so justly merits. M. de Sussy will give you a full account of the visit which he has made to me. I have acceded to his wishes in reading to those around me, the documents which you had entrusted to him. I requested M. de Sussy to address himself to the Committee, then sitting in few numbers, at the Hotel de Ville; he has seen M. Laffitte, who was there with some of his colleagues, and I shall transmit to General Gerard, as soon as I see him, the documents which are placed in my hands. The duties which detain me here render it impossible for me to go to you; if you think fit to come to the Hotel de Ville, I shall have the honor to receive you there, but I regret to say without any utility to your

objects, as your communications have been made known to my colleagues.

"Accept the assurance, &c.

"Signed, LAFAYETTE."

Hotel de Ville, July 30th, 1830.

Entrusted with his reply, the Count de Sussy returned at seven o'clock in the evening to the hotel of M. de Semonville, where the Duc de Mortemart was still waiting for him with the most inexpressible impatience. "You have saved more than my life," said M. de Mortemart to him, "you have saved my honour."

When the carriage of M. de Mortemart waited in the court of the Chateau to convey him from St. Cloud to Paris on that morning; Prince Polignac made his appearance in the hall at that early hour, to witness his departure. He was dressed in the uniform of Aide-de-camp to the King; his countenance was calm and composed, and he was engaged in conversation with the Duc de Maillé, when M. de Mortemart passed, bearing the ordinances, in his way to the carriage. The Prince immediately took M. de Mortemart by the arm, and led him aside into the covered gallery near

to the dining room of M. de Cossé, where they both remained a few moments in communication with each other. An attendant approached to announce that all was ready; at that moment M. de Polignac took leave of his companion with the following memorable words. "Quel malheur que mon epée se soit brisée dans mes mains! Si j'avois reussi, j'etablissois la charte sur des bases indestructibles." Those who know the character of the Prince, and do justice to his motives, without scrutinizing the means, will readily allow that he was sincere in what he said, and spoke it in the very fullness of his heart. He was the constant advocate of a representative government.

On this day, the 30th, M. de Lafayette had sent a flag of truce to St. Cloud, requiring the troops to lay down their arms, the officer, who bore it, returned with the account that General Talor, who guarded the bridge of St. Cloud, had expressed his astonishment, that order was not restored in the capital, since the King had revoked the ordinances, and changed the ministry. "What more do they want?" said he, "let M. de Lafayette explain himself." General Lafayette then sent back the following note. "I am asked for an explicit

declaration as to the position of the royal family, since this last attack on the liberties of the people, and the subsequent victory which has been achieved by the population of Paris. I will give it with the utmost frankness. It is this! All reconciliation is impossible, the royal family has ceased to reign."

When the troops under Marshal Marmont retreated on St. Cloud, they arrived in a state of physical exhaustion; no provisions had been distributed to them during the last twenty-four hours; all the bread in the bakers' shops therefore was put in requisition for their use; the royal kitchens contributed every thing that could be spared from their larders, and it was a singular sight to see the passages of the chateau thronged with footmen, carrying loaves of bread, made dishes, and other meats, to the bivouac in the park.

The table of M. de Damas had just been served; as governor of the Duc de Bordeaux, he was honoured with the presence of the young Prince, who invited several of the wearied officers to partake of the repast. Some one accidentally mentioned that a company of grenadiers, halted near the Orangery, had absolutely nothing to eat. M. de Damas ordered a number of the dishes and some

bottles of wine to be taken from the table, and applied to their use. The Duc de Bordeaux, eager to join in the contributions, with his own hands lifted up several silver dishes over his head, to the servants, that they might convey them to the soldiers. The liberality was carried to such a pitch that in a short time the table was nearly cleared, which produced considerable gaiety.

After this singular repast, the courtiers accompanied the Prince in his usual evening walk to the Trocadero; for in the palaces of Kings, each day resembles that which preceded it, and the life of all around is passed in the same dull uniformity.

Mademoiselle with her *sous gouvernante* Madame de Riveira joined the party.

The Duc de Bordeaux was accustomed after his dinner to collect all the little boys in the Chateau, to join in his sports. He had a little arsenal of uniforms, which he distributed to his playmates, and commanded reviews in miniature. Mademoiselle, though her sex was little adapted to these amusements, often took part in her brother's manœuvres. On this afternoon the children were divided into two divisions; the Duc de Bordeaux, dressed as a grenadier of the guard, commanded the

royalists; Mademoiselle the Parisian insurgents: and while their elders near them were mournfully discussing the future destinies of France, these unsuspecting infants, even then on the brink of exile, were innocently making a game of civil war.

While every one was in anxious expectation of news from Paris, where from the retreat of the troops all fighting had ceased, and things remained in a state of calm though not unmixed with trepidation, the public attention at St. Cloud was suddenly attracted by an incident, of which no one was able to trace the origin.

A company of gardes du corps, without having received any orders, and as it were by instinct, spontaneously mounted their horses, and drew up in line in the court of the Chateau, expecting to be ordered to march to Neuilly, and bring the Duke of Orleans under their escort to St. Cloud. But his Royal Highness, who perhaps had foreseen that he might be called upon to join in the counsels, and make common cause with the royal family, or fearing perhaps the consequences of revolution to himself, as forming a part of it, had cautiously secured a private retreat, which was kept a profound secret to all.

When the gardes du corps were informed of this circumstance, they immediately returned to their barracks, very much dissatisfied, that their zeal on this occasion had not been put to the test.

The Duc de Raguse though no longer commander-in-chief, as the Dauphin had been nominated in his place, busied himself in the inspection of the troops, and providing for them the necessary accommodation, as well as circumstances would permit; he found them in great confusion, and suffering severely from their late and present privations. He went to make his report to the Dauphin, who paid little attention to his communication, but complained bitterly that the King had revoked the ordinances and changed the ministry. The Prince terminated the conversation by saying to the Marshal, "After all, the King is the master, but I am far from approving what he has done." In the afternoon the Duke had an interview with his Majesty, and frankly touched upon the disadvantages of remaining at St. Cloud, which was not a military position, and from its proximity to Paris, exposed the soldiers to every species of seduction. He strongly urged an immediate removal to the Loire, as, for instance, to Blois or Tours.

" Taking the best view of the matter," said he " you will be certain of preserving the troops, which are now with you, and you will have more facilities to collect others, which may come to join you. Then, by revoking the ordinances in proper form ; by calling an immediate assembly of the Chambers at your new residence; and inviting the diplomatic body to surround your person; you impart to your government an air of energy and dignity, which must strike your enemies with awe, and render null all the factious proceedings which are opposed to your interests in Paris."

The King seemed to relish this advice, he even replied at once, " Why not go to Tours ?"

" Whether Tours, or Blois, Sire, is of little importance."

" But," said the King, " we must first wait to see what will be the result of Mortemart's journey."

" Since up to the present time, Sire, it has produced no effect, all hope must be given up. This is an additional motive to adopt the plan which I have proposed." The conversation was continued in the same strain but without any results.

Desertions began to take place in the ranks ;

emissaries from Paris found their way among the troops, and used every effort to unsettle and corrupt the mind of the soldier. The bridge at Sevres was a constant thoroughfare for the public vehicles of every description; from thence to St. Cloud is a trifling distance, and facilities therefore were not wanting to the disaffected, who were anxious to propagate their seditious doctrines among the army.

On the other hand the soldiers, ignorant of the fate in store for them, whether they might not be led into La Vendée, or perhaps into a foreign country, were a prey to disquietude. A rumour was spread that the greater part of the third regiment of the guard intended to quit St. Cloud during the night; and the fiftieth of the line did actually desert in a body.

The Dauphin and the Duc de Raguse, each without consulting the other, issued an order of the day to the troops. That of the Dauphin was as follows:—

"Soldiers,

"You have nobly endured the dangers and fatigues of the last few days; the zeal and energy with which you have

fulfilled your duty towards your country are beyond all praise. It is indeed the cause of good order which you defend, it is our beloved France that you protect against the wiles of designing men. In the madness of their rage they have disturbed the public tranquillity, and troubled the private happiness of your families. On you must depend the re-establishment of peace. Continue then to maintain this arduous struggle with that vigour and constancy which form the distinguishing characteristic of the French soldier. France expects it from you as a duty, and all Europe has its eyes fixed on your exertions. The King has appointed me commander-in-chief of his troops. You will always see me at your head, anxious to share your perils and privations in the common cause. Union and discipline are the real force of an army; officers, impress this truth on your men; guide them with your counsels, and your experience; tell them to mistrust the perfidious insinuations and unfounded reports of those, who wish to sow treason in their ranks. And you, soldiers, follow the example of your officers; I know that they will only lead you in the path of honour, and of duty, because I know that they will always follow me.

"The general, officers, and the heads of corps will not fail to designate to me all those who distinguish themselves by peculiar zeal, and I shall not be wanting on my part in recommending such individuals to the notice and bounty of the Sovereign. The King has deputed me to thank you all for your loyalty and devotion, and to express his most lively satisfaction.

Done at the Palace of St. Cloud, July 30, 1830.

"The Commander in chief,

"LOUIS ANTOINE."

That of the Duc de Raguse announced to the troops the mission of the Duc de Mortemart, and gave them to understand, that as the King had revoked the ordinances, which had brought on the contest with the populace, their only remaining duty was to defend his royal person; that their honour was concerned in remaining faithful to that trust; and proving themselves worthy of the confidence placed in them by the King and his family.

The Marshal, before he published this order of the day, wished to communicate it to the Dauphin; but disappointed in finding that Prince in his apartments, and feeling that the

case was urgent, he took upon himself to order it at once to be read to the men at the commencement of the night. It was received with acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* The soldiers were disgusted with a civil war. The fifteenth regiment of light infantry, sole remaining of the line, exhibited equal marks of satisfaction. But before the Dauphin had published his own order, Lieutenant General Talor of the guard, came and told him, that one had been already read, which had unhinged the loyalty of the troops, who were now only anxious to return to their homes. He said this, under the impression that this order would materially encrease the defection already too apparent in the army. An explanation ensued, and it was made clear to him, that the Prince's order had not yet been made public.

The Dauphin enraged made a serious complaint to the King.

About eight o'clock the Duc de Raguse, having sought an interview with his Majesty, was accosted by him in these terms. "You have not submitted your order of the day to the Dauphin; he feels very much aggrieved: go to him and explain the matter."

The Marshal repaired thither without delay, but the Prince was already gone by another

way to visit the King; he therefore waited in the billiard room, where also were three officers of his royal highness's household, the Ducs de Guiche, and de Ventadour, aides-de-camp, and M. Montgascon his secretary. The Marshal was accompanied by his own aide-de-camp, M. de la Rue, when in a few minutes the Dauphin returned to his apartments. On seeing the Marshal his features became flushed with indignation; he threw down his stick, which he had held in his hand, moved with a hurried step across the anteroom, and when he reached the door of the *salon*, he said hastily, "Walk in." Scarcely was it closed, when those in the billiard room heard a confused noise within, the voices of both were raised so loud, that M. de Ventadour, feeling much alarm, opened the door. The Marshal instantly came out followed by the Prince, who loaded him with invectives. "Give up your sword, traitor," he cried, "and rushing upon him, he tore it from his side. The aide-de-camp of the Duke thrust himself between him and the Dauphin, though held back by M. de Montgascon. The Prince made every effort to break the sword, in doing which he cut his hands; at the sight of his own blood, he lost all temper, and cried out,

"Help! Gardes du corps, seize him." The guards rushed forward with fixed bayonets, and the Marshal was forced to shrink back least he should be wounded in the face. They led him away under arrest to his lodging, and kept sentry at the door.

The Duc de Raguse, overcome with indignation, conceived the idea that this treatment was intended purposely to hold him up to the troops, as the only cause of their defeat in Paris, and thus to reanimate their courage and loyalty. Rumours were spread through the Chateau, that he had attempted to strike the Dauphin with his sword; one of his aide-de-camps, being sent to implore the assistance of the Duc de Maillé, lost his way in the corridors, and approached the apartment of the Duc de Bordeaux, where the sentinel crossed his bayonet to refuse him admittance. He could not find the Duc de Maillé, who was with the King; but at the expiration of half an hour the Duc de Luxembourg, Captain of the guard on duty, accompanied by his staff, brought back to the Marshal his sword on behalf of the King, discharged the sentries, and summoned him to the royal presence.

The Marshal obeyed the injunction.

The King received him in a manner which

proved how much he had been pained by the late transaction. "Monsieur le Marechal," said he, "my son has acted hastily towards you, but you must allow that he ought to have been made acquainted with this order, before it was given out to the troops; he is however ready to confess that he was in the wrong." at these words the Marshal broke out with "Hastily! Sire; and is it thus, that you can qualify the horrible conduct which I have received from your son. What! Sire, after sacrifices far more painful to myself, than if I had offered up my life, is it by such injurious treatment that I am to be recompensed? No, Sire, never, never will I meet your son again!"

The King understood too well the irritated feelings of the Marshal, to take any offence at the vehemence of his expressions. He used every palliative, that the goodness of his own heart suggested, to calm an excitement which he could not but allow was justified by existing circumstances. He said every thing that could tend to appease the wounded honour of the high minded veteran; at length folding his arms around him, he led him gently to the very end of his suite of apartments, entreating him to go and make his peace with the Dauphin. The Duc de Raguse, disarmed by

such condescending kindness, could offer no further resistance; he made a violent effort over himself, and repaired at once to the Prince. "I am come, Monseigneur," said he, "by the express order of his Majesty, to say, that I did wrong in publishing the order without your previous assent."

"Since you acknowledge your fault, Monsieur le Marechal," replied the Dauphin, "I feel bound also to acknowledge mine, and to confess that my impetuosity carried me much too far." The Duc de Raguse remained silent.

The Dauphin continued, "Besides I have been well punished, you may see how I have wounded myself with your sword."

"That sword," Monseigneur, "was never destined to shed your blood, but to defend it."

"Come," replied the Dauphin, "let all be forgotten, let us embrace." On saying these words, he stretched out his hand to the Marshal, who in order to avoid taking it, made a most profound obeisance, and retired without adding another word.

The Duc de Raguse instantly resigned his military commands. He declared to the King, that he would never quit his side, till the present crisis had passed away; but that he

would never again interfere in any circumstance which could place him in communication with the Dauphin.

The Prince, who had just given way to this violent excess, had by no means a bad heart; he was hasty and irascible, at the same time weak and headstrong; his understanding was not of a superior cast, and he himself was unable to weigh well the import of his expressions, or the consequences of his actions. He had neither the imposing dignity of Louis XVIII., or the seductive affability of Charles X.; he was awkward in his manner, and reserved in his speech. He was loved by those about him on account of the simplicity of his tastes, and the ease of his service; but above all on account of that spontaneous readiness which he always evinced to make reparation, whenever he had, in a moment of humour, wounded the feelings of another. He was entirely subjugated by Charles X., who feeling his real superiority as a man, as a father, and as King, kept him in a state of great dependance. He never spoke to the King, nor of the King, except with all the terms of the most profound respect, such even as the lowest subject would have adopted. Charles X. was a very differeut character. He has

been harshly judged by those, whose political feelings could make them only see in the ordinances and the events of July, acts of positive bad faith and cruelty. It has become a popular opinion to represent him as treacherous and cruel, this, like many other popular opinions, is utterly devoid of truth.

Charles X. was a mild, amiable, and gracious monarch, distinguished by his elegant and noble manners; with all the good taste and gallantry of a *preux chevalier*, he was in his private character a man of the strictest honor, bound by his word, and incapable of committing an act of injustice, much less an act of cruelty. Though a King, he had many real friends, and was ever ready and anxious to promote their welfare; his charities were boundless and his liberality on all occasions bordering on profusion.

But Charles X. was not a man of instruction or reflexion; he derived no benefit from his misfortunes, no improvement from his travels; he preserved to the last all the superannuated prejudices of Versailles, and formed to himself only one lesson from the revolution, which was that concessions are the ruin of Kings, and had brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold.

He was the type of the old emigrant, in its most amiable form, *rien appris, rien oublié.* He was eminently deficient in prudence, that virtue so essential to the welfare of a constitutional monarch; this failing might have arisen, either from a want of penetration to discover impending danger, or from too great stubbornness in adhering to his own opinions. He had one fixed idea, which was immutable. He considered the Charter, as a boon conceded to his subjects, and had no wish to deprive them of it, as long as they used it with gratitude and moderation; but when they assumed it as a right, and further attempted to convert it into a weapon of attack against the royal prerogative, he then felt justified in using the plenitude of his power in self-defence. Pending the famous address of 1830, he only viewed the maintenance of the Polignac ministry as a question of prerogative, he felt that if he yielded, he was lost; the result was unfortunately quite the reverse. Had he been gifted with more sagacity, he would better have understood the real sentiments of the Chamber; had he acted with more prudence, he would not during three whole days have prolonged an unequal contest; or having once decided to provoke it, he would have previous-

ly made such vigorous and effective arrangements, that victory would have been certain, and consequently bloodless. In addition to the scanty number of troops, entrusted to the charge of Marmont, which were soon repulsed by the mob, when engaged in the streets of Paris, in what General Crossard emphatically called, *une guerre de pots de chambre*, the King might easily have collected a force of forty thousand men in the neighbourhood of his residence at St. Cloud; as preparations had already been made for a grand review in honor of the victory at Algiers. But Charles X. was still in 1830, that which the Comte d' Artois had been all his life. He was the same prince who in 1789 was opposed to all reform; who in 1792 emigrated, with the view of arming all Europe against France; who on his return in 1814 hesitated to take his oath to the Charter, till Bonaparte had landed at Cannes; and to whom his brother Louis XVIII. closed the doors of the Chamber of Peers. He was the same Prince who privately thwarted all the measures of the De Cazes ministry, and when he came himself to the throne, commenced a fatal system of government, contrary to the advice of his deceased brother, and unsuited to the liberal ideas of the day.

On his first accession, the fascination of his manners, his affability, a few happy expressions, such as, "*Pas de hallebardes,*" and above all the liberty conceded to the press, gave to the commencement of his reign an air of popularity. The people are so prone to flatter themselves with hopes of improvement from a new reign.

But when they saw the Villele ministry confirmed, and the proposals made successively to the Chambers, of the indemnity to the emigrants, the law of sacrilege, the right of seniority, and the law of the press, styled the *loi d' amour;* all then felt convinced that the Villele ministry was more guided by the principles of the Comte d' Artois, than by those of Louis XVIII. and that the suppression of the censure by Charles X. was not to be considered as any criterion of his real political feelings. It merely proved, that the order of succession, (which was a source of some anxiety,) having been carried into effect without difficulty; and M. de Villele feeling assured of his majority in the Chamber of Deputies, by the means of the double vote; the government considered itself sufficiently strong to work its way without the necessity of inflicting the censure on the press.

It is a fact worthy of remark that during this week of trouble and anxiety none of the foreign ambassadors made their appearance at St. Cloud.

The position of Marshal Marmont was cruel and embarrassing, but such must be always the case with those who halt between two opinions. A deplorable chance singled him out to fight against a cause, which from old recollections of his early life, he must have felt disposed to approve; while on the other hand his loyalty, his honour, and his gratitude for past benefits from the Bourbons would not allow him to recede from the task imposed upon him. It is perhaps too much to assert that more energy on his part in the commencement of this struggle might have ensured success to the royal cause; but thus much is certain, that a strong impression of his vacillating conduct was felt both by Charles X. and his son. On the Wednesday evening when the Duc de Guiche made his way alone from St. Cloud, to the Tuilleries, he found the Marshal with his troops in full possession of theChateau, who told him to inform the King, that he could defend it for three weeks; on the following afternoon he made his retreat from Paris of his own accord. This circumstance might

account for the sudden nomination of the Dauphin as Commander-in-chief, and have caused the extraordinary irritation felt by that Prince at the publication, without his assent, of an order which was represented to him as having impaired the steadiness of the troops.

To return to the affairs at Paris, order seemed now to be completely restored. The following proclamations were issued on the 31st :—

" Inhabitants of Paris,

" The Deputies of France, at this moment assembled at Paris, have expressed to me a desire that I should repair to the Capital to take upon me the functions of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom.

" I have not hesitated to come and share your dangers, to place myself in the midst of your heroic population, and to employ my utmost efforts to preserve you from the calamities of civil war and of anarchy.

" In returning to the city of Paris, I wear with pride those glorious colours which you have resumed, and which I myself had long worn.

" The Chambers are about to assemble ; they will deliberate on the means of ensuring

the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. Henceforth the Charter will be truth.

"LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

Paris, July 30th.

"Municipal Commission,

"The cause of liberty has triumphed for ever, the citizens of Paris have reconquered it by their courage, as their fathers founded it forty years ago. The details of the exploits which signalized yesterday, it is as yet impossible to produce, at present we can only give some of the results.

"After a vigorous attack the Tuilleries fell into the power of the citizens, the palace was not plundered. The Louvre, the Mayories, the barracks, the whole city are occupied by the national guards. The tricoloured flag waves on every public édifice. A Municipal Commission, charged to watch over every thing that concerns the interests of the capital, is sitting at the Hôtel de Ville. The Deputies have assembled several times, to-day even they have met at their usual Chamber. To-morrow morning the local authorities of the capital will be re-organised."

The Municipality of Paris to the French army.

" Brave Soldiers!

The inhabitants of Paris do not hold you responsible for the orders that were given to you. Come to us, we will receive you like brothers. Come and place yourself under one of those brave generals, who have so often shed their blood in the service of their country, the patriotic General Gerard. The cause of the army could not long be separated from that of the nation and of liberty. Is not its glory our dearest inheritance? But the army can never forget that the defence of our independence and of our liberties, ought to be its first duty. Let us then be friends, since our interests and rights are the same. General Lafayette declares in the name of the whole population of Paris, that they do not entertain any feeling of hatred or hostility towards the French soldiers; that they are ready to receive as brothers, those who will return to the cause of liberty and of the country; and that they look forward with all their wishes to the moment when the citizens and soldiers, united under the same standard, and by the same sentiments, may at length be able to realize

the happiness, and the glorious destiny of our noble country.

" Vive la France!

(Signed,) GENERAL LAFAYETTE."

" French Soldiers,

" We command all the troops of the royal guards, and the line, to repair within forty-eight hours to the provisional camp at Vaugirard. We pledge our word of honor, that no harm shall be done to them, and that every soldier shall be treated like a friend and a brother, and shall receive food and lodging until further orders.

" For the General-in-chief, Gerard,

" (Signed) PAJOL."

It is necessary to appoint for each branch of the Public Administration, commissions authorised provisionally to replace the ministers, who have just fallen with the power of Charles X.

The following are the provisional commissioners appointed :—

The Department of Justice.	M. Dupont de l' Eure.
——————Finances,	Baron Louis.
——————War,	General Gerard.
——————Marine,	Admiral de Rigny.
——————Foreign Affairs,	M. Bignon.
To the Interior, and Public Works,	Duc de Broglie.
To the Public Instruction,	M. Guizot.

Hotel de Ville, July 31st, 1830.

Signed, LOBAU, AUDRY DE PUYRAVEAU, MAUGUIN, DE SCHONEN.

While the Duc de Mortemart was still under the roof of M. de Semonville a messenger arrived from the Duke of Orleans, entreating him to come to the Palais Royal on urgent business, which nearly concerned the interests of the King. Moved by this consideration alone, M. de Mortemart consented, and at the late hour of three in the morning he followed his conductor. The approaches to the Palais Royal were blocked up by bands of armed men, who bivouacked on the square, in the courts, and in the adjacent streets; which, as the *reverberes* had been broken, received only a scanty and partial light from a few lamps

placed in the windows of the houses, and on the barricades. The day was just beginning to dawn. M. de Mortemart relates, that he was at first introduced into the apartment of M. Oudart, the Prince's secretary, where every thing bore the signs of havoc and destruction. This apartment forms the corner of the Rue St. Honoré and the Rue de Richelieu, a point were the struggle of the preceding days had been the most warmly contested. Shortly after, M. Berthois, aide-de-camp of the Duke, arrived, and ushered M. de Mortemart through several rooms, into that where he found the Prince seemingly overcome with fatigue, suffering from the heat, and half undrest.

The Duke of Orleans, on perceiving M. de Mortemart, said to him with warmth—"Duc de Mortemart, if you see the King before I do, tell him that I have been brought by force to Paris, but that I will rather be torn to pieces than allow the crown to be placed on my head. The King without doubt accuses me of not going to St. Cloud. I regret it much; but I had received information that since Tuesday last efforts had been made to induce the King to have me arrested: and I will candidly own, that I had no wish to throw myself into a hornet's nest. On the other hand I was equally

averse to receiving a summons from the Parisians. I therefore sought out for myself a secure retreat, known only to my own family; but yesterday evening a crowd of men invaded Neuilly, and required my presence in the name of the assembled deputies. On being informed that I was absent, three men declared that they would convey the Duchess with her children to Paris, who should remain prisoners till the Duke of Orleans made his appearance. The Duchess alarmed at these threats, and trembling for the fate of her children, wrote to me a letter, urging my immediate return, which was brought by a faithful servant, and I then left my place of concealment, actuated solely by a wish to relieve the fears of my family."

The Duke of Orleans after having announced to M. de Mortemart that the Chamber of Deputies had appointed him Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, in order to prevent M. Lafayette from proclaiming a Republic, then asked him, if his powers as Minister went so far as to allow him to recognize this nomination. M. de Mortemart replied in the negative, that he had even protested formally against this act on the preceding evening at the Luxembourg, although, as a Frenchman, he

felt convinced of its propriety, and thought it the best means of saving the country from a state of anarchy.

While these two important characters were discussing a subject of so much magnitude, a violent tumult was heard, which seemed gradually approaching the apartment. M. Berthois entered, and the Prince enquired the reason of this disorder.

"It is a crowd of men who are clamorous to see you."

"But is it a deputation from the schools, or from the national guard?"

"Neither one nor the other. It is an assemblage of the common people; they insist upon seeing you, and if they are not satisfied, will break through all impediments till they gain their point."

The Duke of Orleans said to M. Berthois, "Tell them that I am overcome with fatigue, and undressed: that I cannot receive them, but will speak to their leader,—bring him here."

This incident broke up the conference; M. de Mortemart retired, assuring the Duke of Orleans that he would lose no time in apprizing the King of the situation of affairs, and of the necessity which existed, that his powers

should be encreased to meet the exigencies of the moment.

The popular leader was introduced by M. Berthois, to the Prince, he was in a disordered dress, and would have made an admirable conspirator in a Melodrame at the Porte St. Martin. "We are come," said he, "to make you King, but we will only have yourself; above all we will have no peers nor deputies, they are all rogues; you are a good prince, you will govern well, and that is sufficient."

The Duke of Orleans very much startled by the manner and the words of the speaker, replied, that if ever he did become King, it would only be on the condition that both peers and deputies should be preserved. The leader still insisted in the same tone—the Duke remained firm. "Well then, you shall have your way, but we will have you for King."

The Duke then reasoned with him on his headstrong conduct, and disclaiming any such ambitious views on his own part, gave every proof of the honourable feelings by which he was animated; he recommended the intruder to promote the cause of peace and order among his associates, rather than discuss questions of state which were beyond his cognizance.

In the course of that day the Duke of Orleans proceeded to the Hotel de Ville; there was much noise and tumult in the streets; and the applause which he received on the way was far from being unanimous; several groups as he passed saluted him with groans, and cried furiously, "*A bas les Bourbons, plus de Bourbons! Vive la liberté!*" The Prince looked around with anxiety, his progress was slow on account of the barricades. He was accompanied by one aide-de-camp, M. Berthois, and surrounded by a great number of national guards, and deputies. As the procession approached the Place de Greve, the cries became more hostile. The Duke got off his horse at the foot of the staircase, which he mounted slowly; no one came forward to meet him, and on entering the great hall, he was received with loud vociferations and abuse of the Bourbon family.

The Prince, evidently affected, made a motion with his hand to obtain attention, when a loud voice exclaimed, "That if he came in the name of the perjured Charles, he might instantly retire."

"You are mistaken," said the Duke, "the King never had any intention to violate the charter." He then commenced a speech

which has been detailed in the papers, it contained a recapitulation of his political principles through life, and his decision to accept the office of Lieutenant General, as forced upon him by the voice of the nation.

The dethronement of Charles X. was accomplished.

The following curious historical parallel is taken from Le Globe.

THE STUARTS.	THE CAPETS.
Charles I.	Louis XVI.
Resistance of the parliament.	Assembly of Notables.
Refusal of subsidies.	Refusal of subsidies.
Parliament dissolved.	Oath of the Tennis Court.
The long parliament.	Legislative assemblies.
Increasing irritation.	Increasing irritation.
Charles I. at York.	Louis XVI. at Versailles.
Civil war.	Emigration, Vendée, &c.
Flight of Charles, taken at the Isle of Wight.	Louis taken at Varennes.
Trial and death of Charles.	Trial and death of Louis.
English Republic.	French Republic.
Oliver Cromwell, Protector.	Bonaparte Consul.
Parliament dissolved.	18. Brumaire.
New Parliament.	Senate.
Military despotism and foreign aid.	Military despotism and foreign aid.
Alliance of Cromwell with Mazarin and Louis.	Marriage of Napoleon with an Austrian Arch-duchess.
Fall of Richard Cromwell.	Fall of Napoleon.
General Monck.	Talleyrand, Fouché, &c.

Restoration.	Restoration.
Charles II.	Louis XVIII.
Promise to maintain the constitution.	Charter.
Amnesty except to regicides.	Ditto.
Cromwell's army disbanded.	The army of the Loire do.
Triumph of the Royalists.	Ditto.
Parliamentary discussions.	Ditto.
Whigs and Tories	Liberals and Ultras.
Catholics and Royalists.	Ditto.
Reaction.	Ditto.
Death of Russell and Sydney.	Death of Birton Bories, &c.
Influence of the Duke of York.	Influence of the Pavillon Marsan.
James II.	Charles X.
Speech on his accession and deception.	Ditto.
Triumph of Catholics and Tories	Triumph of Jesuits and Ultras.
Jefferies and his accomplices.	Villele and Polignac's ministry.
William of Nassau.	Philip of Orleans.
Fall of James and the Stuarts.	Fall of Charles and the Bourbons.

With the abolition of royalty a cry was also raised for the abolition of the peerage, which met with few supporters, but the question of an hereditary peerage was entertained at the Chamber of Deputies, and referred to future discussion.

During the days of July, Marshal Soult was residing on his estate near St. Amand, in the department of the Tarn. It was some time before he could credit the reports which reached him of what had passed in Paris. At last he made up his mind to set off for the capital. On his arrival at Limoges, he got out of his

carriage, and entered the public dining room of the *Hotel des Diligences*, which was the principal inn in the place. There he listened attentively, with his hands behind his back, to the various accounts which were brought by the travellers from Paris. Taking advantage of a momentary pause, the Marshal, addressing one of the most animated reporters, said to him, "Eh! la ligitimité qu' en ont ils faite?" "Ils l'ont mise de coté." "Ah! ils l'ont mise de coté, eh bien! nous verrons." And when the stranger, who knew his person, added, "La pairie aussi a été mise de coté, et vous n'etes plus pair." He very calmly replied, "Ah! je ne suis plus pair! nous verrons!" and without saying another word he returned to his carriage and resumed his journey.

During this interval, affairs at St. Cloud had assumed a very discouraging aspect. On the 29th, at ten o'clock at night the Dauphin had sent General Bordesoulle with three thousand men of the guard, and a train of artillery to Versailles. Some straggling shots were fired at the column between Sevres and Viroflay, which were not returned. On their arrival at the barrier, the Mayor and the commandant of the national guard requested the General to spare the town; they remarked to him, that

if he made his entry at that time of night, while eight or ten thousand men from Versailles and the environs were assembled on the spot in a state of considerable excitement, much mischief might be apprehended in various ways both to the troops, and to the private inhabitants. The General yielded to these observations, and ordered his men to bivouac in the Avenue de Paris before the barrier. On the following day the same individuals came and entreated him to enter the town for the purpose of maintaining order. The General on his part desired them to make public that he did not come as an enemy; that his object was to protect the inhabitants, and in order to avoid all risk of dispute between the troops and the citizens, the former should be strictly confined to their barracks, which neither privates or subalterns should be allowed to quit under any pretext. These stipulations were carried into effect, and the national guard undertook the duty of the town.

On the evening of the 30th, a moving mass of about fifteen hundred men took possession of Auteuil and Boulogne, and uttering cries against the royal family menaced the chateau at St. Cloud with an immediate attack.

The court was seized with a sudden panic;

the Duchesse de Berri tremblingly alarmed for the fate of her children, supplicated the Dauphin to impress upon the King's mind the necessity of their immediate departure. The Prince yielding to her entreaties, sent the Duc de Levis and the General Gressot at half past twelve to make known this wish to the King. His Majesty was fast asleep ; the curtains were drawn round his bed notwithstanding the extreme heat of the weather. The valet de chambre awoke him.

" Who is there?"

" Sire, M. le Dauphin entreats your Majesty to depart from hence for Versailles."

" I am ready," said the King.

Immediate preparations were made, the order was given, and the King, the Duchesse de Berri, her children, the court and the household all set off in the greatest disorder at two o'clock, and arrived at Trianon after a dilatory journey before five in the morning. The King had previously requested the Duc de Raguse to take the command of the escort which surrounded his royal person. This escort was composed of the *Gardes du corps, the Chasseurs á cheval de la garde,* and the *gardes à pied.* The Dauphin remained alone at St. Cloud till noon, with the regular troops. Some companies of

the 7th regiment (Swiss,) allowed themselves to be surrounded and disarmed by the populace of Sevres; and the Dauphin fearing further defection, put himself at the head of his diminished army, and took the road to Versailles. At eight in the morning the King sent for General Bordesoulle, and consulted with him as to the best mode of reaching La Vendée. The General dissuaded him from this step, as he had just witnessed the arrival of two *malle postes*, one from Angers and the other from Saumur, decorated with tricoloured flags; and the arms of France effaced from the pannels, which indicated a state of publie feeling on that road inimical to the royal cause. The King then said that he would go that evening to Rambouillet; it is probable that he awaited the arrival of the Dauphin, before he would come to any absolute decision on his future projects. Those who were attached to his suite, observed with pain that the ministers, who had signed these fatal ordinances of the 25th, were still in waiting about his person, but the King would not abandon friends in distress, and they only quitted him of their own accord on the arrival at Rambouillet.

At one o'clock the Dauphin arrived, while

his troops filed off in the direction of Trappes. He appeared absent, and thoughtful, he alighted from his horse and mounted again several times in the course of a few minutes, without going out of the court. His arrival was the signal of departure for Rambouillet. The Duchesse de Berri and her children were placed in one of the royal carriages, while the King decided on taking a different road on horseback. It was an object of the first importance to get clear of the woods, where a few hundred sharpshooters would have sufficed to harrass and throw into confusion this long train of carriages and baggage of every description. The King himself evinced the greatest reluctance to quit this royal residence; notwithstanding all was prepared and ready, still he lingered.

General Vincent gave it as his opinion, that the only means left of saving the dynasty, was a recourse to the Duke of Orleans; he warmly advised the Duchesse de Berri to repair to Neuilly with the Duc de Bordeaux; a proceeding, which would at once have placed the Duke in a most embarrassing position. She was disposed herself to follow this counsel, but the other branches of the family were opposed to it.

At six in the evening a considerable multitude made their appearance at the iron gates of the park, which were no longer defended by the national guard, and commenced a partial fire on the troops. General Bordesoulle dispatched a flag of truce to the invaders, requesting a cessation of hostilities; he avowed the most pacific intentions on the part of his detachment, but declared that in case of further aggression he was not only able but determined to annihilate the insurgents.

This threat had its effect, the populace retired, and the national guard resumed their post at the barrier. General Bordesoulle again reiterated to the King his entreaties that he would quit Trianon, as the retreat of the Dauphin having left undefended the bridges over the Seine, it could no longer be considered a place of safety.

In this interval a M. Pogue, aide-de-camp of General Lafayette, arrived also with a flag of truce to the royalist army; he told the General that the provisional government required of him to inform Charles X. that his dethronement was pronounced by the nation; and that every facility would be given to his departure from France by any point of the frontier, which he might think proper to se-

lect. The General replied, that his functions being solely and entirely military, he could not take upon himself to deliver such a message.

"You are in the wrong," said M. Pogue, "it is perhaps the last service which you may have in your power to render to that family."

"I repeat to you, sir, that I have no concern with politics. Besides any one in the same manner may represent himself to me as authorised to make such proposals."

M. Pogue then exhibited an order from the provisional government, which gave him instructions to raise the *Communes*, but made no mention of the act of dethronement, and particularly urged him to watch over the safety of the Royal family. In reply to an observation from the General, M. Pogue asserted that his instructions relative to the dethronement were merely verbal. "Well then, sir," added the General, "if the provisional government has any communications to make to his Majesty, it may forward them by an official commissioner, to whom I will secure a free passage."

During this dialogue some individuals attached to the Court were impatiently waiting the departure of the King in a room which preceded that where his Majesty still remained occupied by some business. Among these

were the Duc de Duras, the Duc de Luxembourg, M. M. de Pradel and Kinzingen. The two former entered the room to remind the King that all was in readiness. After the lapse of a few minutes the door was opened, and Charles X. appeared, walking slowly, followed by these two noblemen; in the interior of the room might be seen at this moment a priest, closing a cupboard, which contained what in the Roman Catholic religion is called a chapel; he had just celebrated the mass before his Majesty.

The King, as he passed on, remarking M. Delarue, aide-de-camp of the Duc de Raguse, approached him slowly, and addressing him with an expression of great kindness as well as dejection, said, "You are the aide-de-camp of the Marshal?"

"Yes, Sire."

"You have all conducted yourselves nobly in Paris, as I am well aware, but you yourself have been wounded?"

"A mere nothing, Sire, a slight contusion on the leg."

Then turning to the Marshal the King said, "This is your aide-de-camp, Monsieur le Marechal?"

"Yes, Sire."

"But," said one of the suite, "your Majesty forgets that it is your wish to depart."

"Ah! yes," replied the King, and he proceeded onwards taking very short steps, and looking anxiously about to the right and left of the gallery, which was nearly deserted. It was easy to perceive the effort which it cost him to quit a spot, so near to that, where he first drew breath, and impressed with so many recollections of his early life. He made another pause on the steps of the porch, he gave a long and lingering look towards the Palace of Versailles, then heaving a deep sigh, he slowly mounted his horse. He rejoined the Duchesse de Berri and the children at the issue of the forest; the King then got into his carriage, and in that manner continued his journey to Rambouillet, where the whole cavalcade arrived a little before midnight.

The Dauphin quitted Trianon at the same time with the King; on the road he alighted and sat down under a tree, occupied with looking over his maps. In this manner he spent an hour, attended only by a few officers and some gendarmes. He then proceeded to Trappes, where he passed the night, and on the following day, (Sunday) continued his march with the troops to Rambouillet.

The Dauphin had requested General Bordesoulle to keep possession of Versailles till ten o'clock. It was now nine; the General permitted M. Pogue to enter the town on condition that he would make no attempt to disturb the public peace; at eleven o'clock he himself led forth his troops on the road to Rambouillet and halted at Coignieres.

The arrival of the royal family at Rambouillet, presented a melancholy scene. At eight o'clock in the evening Prince Polignac drove into the court; he was pale and so exhausted, that scarcely could his legs perform their office. The gates were immediately closed; it was supposed to be the King or the governor of the Chateau who had arrived. He took a mouthful of bread and a glass of water, wrote a few lines for his brother, who was on the road with the King, and in twenty minutes continued his journey.

In two hours afterwards the royal train of carriages entered the *cour d' honneur;* it was night, and the moon shed her silvery beams on the antique tower where Francis I. resigned his breath. There were no torches, much hurry and confusion, but none of the pompous bustle which usually marked the arrival of the royal escort; the armorial bearings were

were effaced from the gilded pannels of the coaches. The King was the first to alight; his features had assumed a violet hue, they seemed fixed and immoveable as though struck by apoplexy, and his eyes showed every sign of inward grief and dejection. Having performed part of the journey on horseback, his clothes were covered with dust, which only rendered more observable the traces of tears which from time to time had trickled on his breast. Exhausted with fatigue, and evidently annoyed by the observation which he created, he still waited on the first landing place to offer his arm to the Duchesse de Berri. The Baron de Damas carried in his arms the Duc de Bordeaux, who was asleep.

On entering the great *salon*, where, in addition to the royal suite, several officers, as well as the civil authorities of the town were assembled, the King bowed to all, and said to the mayor, "Well! M. Delorme, are all the inhabitants well disposed."

"Yes, Sire."

"Why is it not the same every where else?" After a few minutes the King resumed, "You say then that your inhabitants are well disposed?"

"Yes, Sire, I can answer for all, as for myself."

The young prince and his sister were then brought in to wish his Majesty good night; the King embraced them with tears in his eyes, and looking at his watch, said, "It is past ten o'clock, I thought it had been later. We may all retire to rest."

The Marshal took this opportunity of making a public appeal to the authorities of the place for bread. "We must find bread," said he, "for these gentlemen, who have taken nothing during the whole day; and for the troops who have had no sustenance for the last four and twenty hours.

Requisitions to that effect were made in all the neighbouring country.

The royal family, the Duc de Raguse and some officers of the household were lodged in the Chateau, M. M. Capelle and de Montbel, were received by the corporation, and took their departure early in the morning. M. M. Peyronnet and Chantelauze went to sleep at the Chateau de Pinceloup, whose owner was absent. All the other ministers passed through Rambouillet, but made no stay there. M. de Peyronnet on the following day made the best

of his way to Chartres, he had a slight acquaintance with the Mayor, whom he sought out, and requested his aid to effect his escape. The Mayor sent him away under a false name with the Courier of the malle poste. On his arrival at Tours, M. de Peyronnet, fearing to pass through the town in that conveyance exposed to public observation, alighted near the bridge at the entrance, and arranged with the courier that he should take him up again as he went out. He remained here looking at the bridge. At the post house, while the horses were changed, the courier was asked if he had no passengers. The man not being in the secret, carelessly replied, "that he had one, who had stayed behind to examine the bridge." This appeared rather extraordinary, and created so much suspicion, that the enquirers went to the spot, and found M. de Peyronnet gazing at the Loire. "Who are you," said one. He exhibited his passport; but in drawing forth his handkerchief, he by chance exposed the letter P on the corner, which was not the initial of the name inserted on his pass. A general cry was raised that it must be a minister, either Polignac or Peyronnet. The latter name circulated at once through the crowd. He was surrounded, and

menaced, until the national guard made its appearance. The commanding officer, who happened to be from Bordeaux, said to the bystanders, " I know Peyronnet's person, and will tell you at once if it is him." Then coming nearer, he whispered in his ear, " Do not be alarmed," and said aloud, " This is not Peyronnet." The fugitive began to entertain hopes of escape, when a former *procurer general* affirmed that he well knew the late keeper of the seals, and this was him. The people became incensed with rage, when M. de Peyronnet addressing himself to the national guard, confessed his name, and claimed their protection. He made an energetic appeal to their generosity, and made them responsible for the consequences, in case any crime was committed on his person.

He has afterwards said, that never till that time had he felt convinced of the powers of his own eloquence. The national guard took charge of him and conveyed him to prison, amidst repeated cries of death, happy in his own mind to have escaped from his reckless persecutors.

M. de Montbel and M. Capelle quitted Rambouillet together in the night, walking while it was dark through the forest and hiding

themselves during daylight in the thicket, they arrived towards dusk at the country house of a receiver general, who was absent. They made known there position to the mistress of the mansion, who managed to screen them from the observation of the servants. They were both faint from fatigue and want. She provided them with supper and a bed, and before day break they quitted their generous hostess, taking the least frequented road to Arpajon.

M. Capelle was suddenly seized with a fit of the gout in his foot, which was a cruel addition to the embarrassments and dangers of their position. They were forced to remain the whole of Tuesday in the woods; at night they attempted to resume their march, but the pain was so violent that M. Capelle was unable to proceed, and their only remaining alternative was to conceal themselves in a corn field near the road side. In the course of the day a regiment passed near the spot, accompanied by a dog, which, in ranging about the fields, discovered their hiding place, and remained barking at them for several minutes, which appeared as many ages; at length to their great joy, the animal retired without betraying their presence. Towards night, im-

pelled by the calls of hunger, they made a fresh effort to proceed, in hopes of meeting with some conveyance, which might advance them on the road to Paris. They arrived at a village where the inhabitants were all out before their doors. Apprehensive that M. Capelle, who, as Prefect of the department, was well known to all the peasantry, might be easily recognised, the two wanderers agreed to walk separately through the village. M. de Montbel went on first and passed without any accident; arrived at the outskirts, he sat down on a stone to wait for his companion. No words can describe his agony and disappointment, when a whole hour had elapsed without seeing M. Capelle make his appearance; he gave him up for lost, and with mournful step resumed by himself the road to Paris. The fact was, that a generous individual had recognised M. Capelle, invited him into his cottage and concealed him.

M. de Montbel after another day spent in alternately walking and hiding himself among the wheat, at last reached Paris at night. He directed his course to a Lunatic Asylum, which he had often inspected as Minister of the Interior; he had no particular acquaintance with the Director, but he had formed a favor-

able, and as circumstances proved, a just appreciation of his character. He was instantly provided with a room and some refreshment; he remained there eight and forty hours, which were devoted to procure for him a passport to Switzerland, as a painter.

The young man to whom M. de Montbel had addressed himself was formerly a clerk in his employment; and showed the most indefatigable zeal to serve him; having obtained the passport, he took his place in the diligence to Besançon, but only to meet it at Sens. At the moment of departure his host furnished him with a travelling bag, containing some linen, pencils, an album, and five hundred francs in money. M. de Montbel then set out afresh on foot with his bag slung over his shoulder, having previously taken the precaution of shaving his eyebrows and the hair on his forehead, in order to disguise his appearance. After travelling two leagues in this manner, he required some rest and refreshment, but unwilling to stop on the high way, he crossed the fields, and entered a house, where he found a party of stone masons assembled, who were returning from Paris after the termination of the late struggle.

These men were lavish of their abuse on the

ministers, and M. de Montbel, who sat at the same table with them, was forced to endure a conversation little in harmony with his own feelings, though at the same time rejoiced to observe that he escaped suspicion. He hurried over his repast with the greatest expedition and quitted his companions, who were little aware of the valuable prize which slipped through their hands. On the appointed day he met the diligence at Sens, where he also found his faithful and devoted protector, who accompanied him to Besançon in the carriage, without appearing to have any knowledge of him. From thence he without difficulty reached Switzerland; and then obtained permission from the Austrian government to go to Vienna, where he now is.

The arrival of La Dauphine was expected by all the court with the greatest impatience. That princess was at Vichy, when the ordinances were made public. The plan of her journey was fixed to return by Lons le Saunier and Dijon. General Romoeuf, who had been present at the flight to Varennes, being at that period aide de-camp to M. de Lafayette, went to meet her Royal Highness at Auxonne. She

made her entrance into Dijon on the 29th of July at about two o'clock in the afternoon. As the Princess passed in front of the troops drawn out in battle array to receive her, the populace saluted her with cries of *Vive la Charte!* and in like manner followed her to the Hotel de la Prefecture, where she alighted. After her dinner she received both the military and civil authorities; being at the time in ignorance of all the events which had occurred in Paris. She proposed to adjourn to the theatre, and notwithstanding every effort made to dissuade her, persisted firmly in her intention. When her Royal Highness entered the box of the Prefect, her ears were astounded with repeated cries of "*Vive la Charte! Vive la Republique! A bâs la Reine!* The second piece which had just begun, was allowed to proceed in tolerable tranquillity till the end of the act; but the tumult then broke out afresh with redoubled vigour; groans and screams were heard from the people out of doors like a prelude to some fresh Sicilian Vespers, which were savagely reechoed by the pit and galleries within. When the curtain fell, the fury of the house seemed to know no bounds. The Prefect and the Mayor quitted the royal box, and presenting themselves in the *balcon*, essayed,

but in vain, to appease the storm; their voices were rendered inaudible by the deafening clamour, and they could only have recourse to pacific signs and gestures.

La Dauphine made imploring movements with her head, and agitated her fan with a trembling hand. She was strongly advised to quit the theatre, but refused to comply; she even affected to pay attention to what was passing on the stage, though the noise was so intense that it completely drowned the voices of the actors. Here and there it is true a few solitary cries were raised in favor of the Princess, but they only seemed to increase the irritation of the opposite party. One young man dared to cry out, "*Vive la Dauphine! Vivent les Bourbons, nous les soutiendrons.*" and his life was very near paying the penalty of his loyal rashness. He was shortly after obliged to quit the town. At length the Princess availed herself of a momentary calm to leave the house; it became the signal for all the men to rush towards the doors, some with the intention of insulting her, others of defending her person; none but the women remained in their places. The clamour redoubled in the street, and so dense was the crowd that the carriage could with difficulty

advance, while the horses of the escort were almost lifted off their legs by the pressure. In this fearful manner did the unfortunate Princess arrive at the Prefecture; there, unable longer to restrain her feelings, she burst into tears before a dozen people, and said, "Oh my God! should the troops but turn against the King!" She disclaimed all knowledge of the ordinances, and moreover hinted at her disapproval of them. General Romoeuf used his efforts to disperse the multitude, that her repose might not be disturbed during the night; but this precaution was unnecessary, as the whole time, till her departure at four o'clock in the morning, was spent in tears. Some occasional signs of sympathy were shown to the Princess during her journey. At one stage the postmaster himself acted as postillion, and drove the carriage with two yards of white ribbon bound to his arm; but these indeed were trifling sources of consolation. At Ancy-le-franc the Marquis de Louvois received the Princess with all the respect due to her rank and situation. At Tonnerre she was met by M. Charlet, her secretary, who came purposely to inform her of all that had happened at Paris. This intelligence made her instantly resolve to pursue

her journey incognito; she dismissed the military escort, and quitting the highway, took a circuitous route.

At Fontainbleau, as it was surmised that the people were ill disposed to the royal cause and might probably intercept the carriage of the Dauphine, some ladies, who were with the Countess de Polignac at the Chateau, voluntarily got into the first carriage, and drove out of the town; they were assailed with cries and imprecations, but received no injury. In a short time afterwards the Dauphine passed without exciting any attention. At Essonne she learnt the evacuation of St. Cloud, and avoiding Paris, arrived at Coignieres, where she was recognized by the postmaster, who said not a word. On Sunday the 1st of August at five o'clock in the morning the Princess found herself in the midst of the troops commanded by General Bordesoulle, and surrounded by the principal officers of the army. The sight of these faithful followers brought with it bitter reflexions, she burst into tears, and said, "that she had received the most infamous treatment at Dijon, that there were no injurious expressions which had not been lavished upon her. I feel happy," added she "at last to find myself with Frenchmen." She alighted from

her carriage to have a private conversation for an instant with the General, then resumed the road to Rambouillet, where she arrived at an early hour with the Dauphin, who had purposely ridden out to meet her.

The King was already on the steps to receive his daughter-in-law, "Oh my father," cried she, "what have you done?" They threw themselves into each others arms amidst a flood of tears.

General Bordesoulle received an intimation that M. Pogue was again arrived at the advanced posts with a fresh communication; on being admitted, the latter demanded a reply to his last message from the provisional government. On being told by the General, that he had thought no more about it, he renewed his request, adding that in a few hours the troops would pass over to their side. The General dismissed him.

The desertions indeed began rapidly to encrease; soldiers and officers quickly disappeared. The heads of corps met to deliberate on what was proper to be done. These were the Colonels of the 2nd, 4th, and 6th, Infantry, the 8th Swiss, the 1st Grenadiers, the 1st and 2nd Cuirassiers, 15th light, and the gendarmerie d'élite, in all eleven in num-

ber. One of them detailed the state of disorganization, which prevailed in the regiments; the desertion hourly encreasing; and the risk which the Colonels incurred of being left alone with a few officers, and the colours, exposed to the insults of the peasantry. He proposed that some convention should be made with the provisional government, by virtue of which the different regiments might be rallied, and forthwith sent back to their garrisons. Another observed, that an object of further consideration, was the peculiar position of the Swiss regiments, which, when the French regiments were disbanded, would be left alone as victims to the popular fury. A third offered himself to undertake this negociation and was accepted. Two or three of the Colonels took little part in these deliberations, they did not make a formal opposition, but gave no signs of approbation. The meeting then apprized General Bordesoulle of their decision. He was returning from the interview with M. Pogue, when they gave him this information, and he was not backward in expressing his astonishment at the unwarrantable step they had taken, which was in defiance of all military regulations. One of the Colonels observed, that no regulations could ever have con-

templated such circumstances, that not one amongst them could depend upon his regiment, and that in a few hours the defection would become general.

The General positively refused to permit the departure of their delegate to Paris, and enjoined them to maintain order as well as they were able in their respective corps. He then sat down to write these matters to the King, and inform him at the same time of what he had heard relating to the act of dethronement. Before he had dispatched his letter, one of his aide-de-camps hastened into the room, requesting that he would instantly mount his horse, adding that the troops were taking to flight, and the peasants in great numbers had broken into the bivouac; laying hands on the arms and ammunition which were abandoned by the soldiery, and that his picket of cavalry composed of twenty men had disappeared, leaving the advanced posts totally unprotected. The General lost no time in mounting his horse, and arrived in time to see nearly a thousand men flying in all directions, and strewing the ground with their arms and baggage. He ordered the general to be beat, and marched at once with the rest of the troops to Trappes, where he took up a position, and

from thence forwarded his letter to the King. Even during this march the desertion continued. A serjeant who had already ran away, returned and blew out his brains, from despair at having forsaken his colours. There was only one single deserter from the whole corps of artillery, and his comrades pursued him, stripped off his uniform, and having severely flogged him, dismissed him with contempt.

During the night almost all the heavy cavalry set out for Versailles. On the following morning General Bordesoulle came to Perray. The Dauphin reviewed the artillery and the remnant of the infantry; it was remarked that the troops received him very coldly. In the course of the day other Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels held a fresh meeting; the General went to them, and urged them to stay. He then harangued the privates, trying to rouse their sentiments of fidelity toward their unfortunate sovereign; he ordered them to stand to their arms, and march to Rombouillet, of which he instantly sent an officer to apprize the Dauphin. But the Prince replied, "he sends me deserters; I find no fault, as I believe his intentions are good; but let the troops remain where they are; I have no longer any faith in promises of

fidelity, I prefer that the soldiers should forsake their colours in the camp, rather than under the eyes of the King."

The Colonel of the fifteenth light infantry, abandoned by all his men, carried the standard to the Dauphin, who received it.

The troops at Rambouillet bivouaced in the forest, in the park, and in the avenue which leads to the Chateau; the horses browsed among the shrubs and flowers; the privates tore up the trellis work and palisades to erect their cabins; the soldiers and the gardes du corps hunted the pheasants in the park, or bathed themselves in the canal under the windows of the Chateau.

At seven in the evening the royal family were present at a review, surrounded by a numerous crowd, which the gardes du corps rigorously kept back. "Leave them alone," said the King. He was deeply dejected. The Dauphine held a handkerchief, which she incessantly applied to her eyes, as the tears were constantly streaming down her cheeks. As she passed before the Cent Suisses, she exclaimed, "Believe me, I had no hand in this"

The gardes du corps ranged themselves in line, and raising their sabres over the head of

the King, cried out with transport, "*Vive le Roi! Vive la famille Royale!*" Charles X. beyond measure affected, could only reply through his tears with an affectionate smile. When the family had retired into the Chateau, cries of "*A la Vendée,*" were heard from the gardes du corps, but this ill judged wish was not accomplished.

Ever since the scene at St. Cloud, the Duc de Raguse remained a stranger to every thing that was passing; some of his friends had proposed to him the means of providing for his own safety, but he was determined to remain with the King.

The court remained a prey to anxiety; no news had been received from the Duc de Mortemart, consequently no hope could be entertained from that quarter. What was to be done? Things could not remain in their present position; while every hour witnessed a diminution in the number of courtiers, and a gradual disappearance of the embroidered coats, it was no difficult matter to perceive that the royal power was at its last gasp.

Count Alexander de Girardin made several journeys backwards and forwards from Rambouillet to Paris; it was generally believed that he was the bearer of negotiations between

Charles X. and the Duke of Orleans; some went so far as to assert, that the Duke had said to him, "I never will be an usurper, but how shall we obtain the abdication, and more particularly that of the Dauphin."

It appears that since the Monday negotiations were in fact established, as the Dauphin published the following order of the day.

"The King makes known to the troops generally, that he has entered into arrangements with the newly established government, and every thing gives reason to suppose that they will be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. His Majesty announces this circumstance to his army, with the view of calming the agitation and restless spirit, which has been too prevalent in some regiments.

"The troops will feel the necessity of remaining steadily at their posts, and of watching over the safety of the royal person, until the above arrangements shall be made public.

(Signed) "LOUIS ANTOINE."

Rambouillet August 1st, 1830.

It may be recollected that on Thursday the 29th, M. de Lafayette had sent to St. Cloud an officer of the national guard, with a letter

to General Talon. At Rambouillet some of the officers thought that they again perceived this individual, walking about in plain clothes, and he was consequently arrested in the court of the chateau, without making any resistance. A bystander having said that this man was a helper, belonging to M. Cremieux the dealer, who was just come to take back some horses, lately sold and delivered to the hunting establishment, but not yet paid for by the civil list, an officer was sent to interrogate M. Cremieux about him; who confessed that this pretended helper had been given to him by the commandant of Paris. He was detained.

On Monday the 2nd, Charles X. sent for the Duc de Raguse, and asked his opinion as to certain overtures, which had been made to him, touching an abdication in favor of the Duc de Bordeaux.

"Sire," replied the Marshal, "I will tell your Majesty frankly my ideas on the subject. At St. Cloud I proposed the only step which could save the crown. Whatever might have been the reception, given by the Parisians to your message through M. de Mortemart, you would now be on the banks of the Loire, and we should have preserved intact all those means of resistance, which we have lately

seen ruined and dispersed by the prolongation of your stay at St. Cloud, and at this place. Now, every thing is altered for the worse, and the danger of our position becomes more deeply aggravated every hour. When I consider the impulse now given to the public mind, I should feel that I wantonly deceived your Majesty, were I to flatter you with a hope that you could any longer reign. To preserve even the crown in your own family, there remains but one single means, one solitary chance; and that is, with your own hands to place it on the brow of your grandson.

"This decision would rally round you many adherents; it is in unison with the principles of legitimacy, and of our institutions, which will thus remain uninfringed; it preserves us from anarchy; and deprives Europe of all pretext for intervention in our affairs. This resolution is also a great act of patriotism, in as much as it may prove the salvation of France at this awful crisis; it is above all a great act of prudence, for it cuts short the knot of immense difficulties, pregnant with results, which no mortal can foresee. Let your Majesty then proclaim as King, the Duc de Bordeaux; retreat with him upon the Loire; convoke in his name the government

and the Chambers; and we shall soon see an end of our civil discords."

The King listened with great attention and composure, he thanked the Marshal for his frankness, and added, "I have already reflected on this proposal; but the consent of my son must first be obtained; then will it remain for further consideration how these measures may be executed."

They continued the conversation for some time, when the King dismissed him with the assurance, that he should probably follow this advice.

In the course of that day the abdication of the King and of the Dauphin was decided. "Since they refuse to have me," said the Dauphin, "let them make their own arrangements."

The two following documents were then drawn up;—

"The King anxious to put an end to the troubles which disturb the capital, and a portion of France, relying also on the sincere attachment of his cousin, the Duke of Orleans, nominates him Lieutenant General of the Kingdom.

"The King having deemed it advisable to revoke his ordinances of the 25th of July,

confirms the meeting of the Chambers on the 3rd of August, and hopes that they will unite their efforts to restore tranquility in France.

"The King will await here the return of the person commissioned to carry this declaration to Paris.

"Should any traiterous attempts be made against the lives of the King and his family, or against their personal liberty, he will defend them to the death.

"Done at Rambouillet, this 2nd Aug. 1830.

(Signed,) "CHARLES."

Rambouillet, Aug. 2nd, 1830.

"My Cousin,

"I am too painfully grieved by the ills which afflict, or might menace my people, not to have occupied myself in the search of a remedy, I have therefore taken the resolution to abdicate the crown in favor of my grandson the Duc de Bordeaux.

" The Dauphin who enters into all my sentiments, renounces also his rights in favor of his nephew.

" It will therefore devolve upon you, as Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, to cause proclamation to be made of the accession of Henri V. to the throne.

" You will, as a natural consequence, take all the necessary measures to regulate the form of government, during the minority of the new King. I limit myself solely to the declaration of these acts, as a means of averting much serious mischief.

" You will communicate these my intentions to the Diplomatic Body; and you will with all due speed, give to me cognizance of the proclamation, by which my grandson shall be acknowledged as King, under the name of Henri V.

" I charge Lieutenant General Vicomte Foissac Latour with the delivery of this letter to you. He has my orders to communicate with you, touching the arrangements to be made in favor of those persons, who have accompanied me; as also those, which more immediately relate to my own person, and that of my family.

" We will then regulate the other measures,

which may be the necessary consequences of a new reign.

" I renew to you, my cousin, the assurance of those sentiments with which I remain,

" Your affectionate cousin,

(Signed,) " CHARLES,
" LOUIS ANTOINE."

General Foissac Latour, just arrived from Normandy, was selected to convey the act of abdication to Paris ; he set off at three o'clock. It was his earnest wish to take with him the young Prince ; as he anticipated a great effect from his presence ; the Duchesse de Gontaret endeavoured to persuade the Duchesse de Berri, but that Princess could not be induced to separate herself from her son. The King recommended to those Peers of France, who were still with him, to set out for Paris, and attend the discussions which would doubtless occur in the two Chambers. They all went.

After the abdication it happened to one of the first lords in waiting to enter the apartment of the Dauphin, without being previously announced ; the Prince said to him with some warmth, " Let me never again see you forget the respect which you owe to me."

As soon as the King had come to the deter-

mination of abdicating, he sent again for the Duc de Raguse, to inform him of it, and request that he would once more take upon himself the command of the troops. The first impulse of the Marshal was to refuse; the scene at St. Cloud still rankled in his mind; but on reflexion he felt that he could not thwart the wishes of the King in such a conjuncture.

The Dauphin particularly requested that the double abdication in favor of the Duc de Bordeaux should not be communicated to the troops till six o'clock in the evening, and the Marshal also deferred the moment of resuming his new office till the same hour.

In the mean time the Duc de Raguse took all the necessary steps to furnish the troops with provisions. The cows and sheep at the royal farm were slaughtered; bread was made by those of the soldiery who understood the process of baking; and the ovens belonging to the dairy and the kennels were used for this purpose; requisitions were also made in the neighbouring *communes* to obtain further supplies, in all which operations M. Weyler de Navas the military sub-intendant showed the greatest zeal and activity.

At six o'clock the Marshal Duc de Raguse

repaired to the front of the line in order to read aloud the act of abdication, and proclaim Henri V. He caused each regiment to parade before him, one after the other; he told them that their constancy and fidelity could alone secure to the King a recompense for the enormous sacrifice, which he had just made to ensure the tranquility of France; and that men of honour and courage must feel in the misfortunes of their sovereign a double inducement to perform their duties with the most rigorous punctuality. In the course of this harangue, he remarked a body of troops advancing on the road towards him, and he instantly galloped up to enquire the signification of this movement. It was the Swiss regiment of Besenval, (8th of the guard) which by order of General Bordesoulle had quitted the village of Perray, to take up its quarters at Rambouillet. The Marshal naturally feeling that the retreat of this corps from the outposts must leave his position unprotected on the side of Paris, ordered the Colonel to face about with his regiment, and establish himself on the summit of a hill at about a league's distance. The Colonel showed great reluctance to obey these directions; his regiment was ju t arrived from Orleans, had not been

engaged; and the Colonel said, that his men were by no means disposed to fight, and would probably at the first exchange of shots lay down their arms and disband themselves. The Marshal sent a squadron of gardes du corps to accompany the Swiss, and instructed General Vincent, to whom he had given the command of all the infantry, to keep a sharp look out on the side of Paris.

The Duc de Raguse was not aware that the chiefs of the two Swiss regiments, resolved to avoid all part in the contest, had sent to Paris to demand a *sauf conduit* from the Lieutenant General. This is the way in which it happened. The Swiss, who saw before their eyes the French soldier desert, throw away, or sell his arms, and openly change his uniform for a peasant's frock, or any other dress, began to feel great discouragement and anxiety. The ill designing circulated through their ranks the most strange and contradictory reports. It was one day the abdication of the King; the next his departure for La Vendée; at another the popular rumour, that the King had chosen the Swiss to cover his retreat, and had permitted them as a recompense to pillage the town, &c., &c. These poor men harrassed by such conflicting rumours, became apprehensive

at last that they should be left alone exposed to the fury of an incensed populace, further exasperated by this additional and absurd imputation. M. de Salis, Colonel of the 7th, and M. de Maillardoz, his Lieutenant Colonel, having consulted together on the best means of reviving the spirits of the regiment, and at the same time of repressing all tendency to disorder, the latter repaired to the Chateau, where not finding as he expected General Gressot, he explained to M. Choiseul, adjutant major general, the disheartened state of his men, and expressed a hope that they might be sent to the Loire. M. de Choiseul replied, that such a communication rather proved that he himself was disheartened; he alluded to the camps of Luneville and St. Omer, from whence troops were daily marching to join the King; and after a discussion, in which both showed considerable warmth, they at last parted mutually dissatisfied with each other.

M. de Maillardoz returned to M. de Salis. They both sought out M. de Besenval, with whom they had a long conference, turning the question over in their minds, how they could best perform their duty on this trying occasion. It was unanimously agreed, that, as from one moment to another, either the departure of the

royal family, or a general defection of the French troops might compel them to depend solely on their own strength, two paramount duties must remain to be performed. First, and above all, they must defend the royal person in case of an attack, even to the last man; and they must remain with the King till they were disbanded, or left to their own resources; but having good cause to foresee this latter emergency, they should also take measures to shield their countrymen from the vengeance of the people. It was decided that M. de Maillardoz should instantly set out for Paris, and make known to the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, the firm resolution of the Swiss officers to remain true to their oaths, but at the same time demand a special protection, in either of these two latter predicaments. Not being able to see the Duke of Orleans that evening, M. de Maillardoz left a letter for him, and called on the following morning for an answer, accompanied by M. de Tchann the Swiss minister. The Prince handed over to him a *sauf conduit* for the two Swiss regiments; but on his return through Versailles, M. de Maillardoz fell in with the Paris army, marching on Rambouillet, and unable to make his way through their dis-

orderly ranks, he was obliged to entrust his dispatch to a national guard on horseback, who passed the column, and delivered it to the two Swiss Colonels.

In the course of this day M. Pogue again made his appearance at the out-posts, intent on corrupting the fidelity of the soldiers. He was sent, or gave himself out, as a flag of truce, and wished under that pretext to serve the cause of the revolution. He talked much of General Vincent, under whose orders he said he had served, and was well acquainted with him. That General sent successively several officers to induce him to retire, under threat of firing upon him. M. Pogue paid no attention to the warning. A discharge then took place, and he was wounded in the ankle. In this state he was carried into the Chateau, where the King sent his own surgeon to attend him, which he little merited.

The presence of the King so near to the capital, with an army of twelve thousand men and forty pieces of canon, was a source of much anxiety to the government. It was a circumstance that might produce fresh engagements between the troops and an exasperated population; and if more French blood was spilt, the life of the King himself might be

placed in great jeopardy. To avoid this double danger the government resolved on the 2nd of August to send four commissioners to Rambouillet, who might endeavour to hasten the departure of Charles X., and also accompany him as a protection on his journey. The choice was made of the Marshal Duc de Trevise, M. M. de Schonen, Jacqueminot, and Odillon Barrot, thus forming a representative of the two Chambers, the army, and the national guard of Paris. General Sebastiani proposed to the counsel, that an addition should be made to this commission in the person of the Duc de Coigny, his brother-in-law, who being in favour with Charles X. might facilitate the introduction of the others to his presence, and at the same time might soften or palliate any disagreeable feelings, which such a mission might produce in the breast of the Prince. The Duc de Trevise declined, because, being invested with the *Cordon bleu*, he was forbidden by the statutes of the order from appearing before the King without it, and he would not treat the King, after his fall, with less respect than he had done before it. Marshal Maison was then chosen in his place, though absent from Paris; and a messenger was dispatched to his country

house, to apprize him of the nomination. This was the Marshal who on the 24th of April, 1814, went to receive and congratulate Louis XVIII. on his arrival at Calais.

The Duc de Coigny consented to go to Charles X., but he refused to assume any official character, or to travel in the carriages which the government had placed at the disposal of the Commissioners. He set out in his own barouche, with his servants in livery, and retained the white cockade. The others wore tricoloured scarfs and cockades. They took their departure at four in the afternoon, with post horses; M. M. Schonen and Jacqueminot in the dress of deputies, M. Odillon Barrot in the uniform of the national guard, of which he was a Lieutenant. The Marshal Maison rejoined them at Rambouillet in his *costume de Marechal.*

They arrived at the outposts of the Royal army at half past nine. The sentinels cried "Qui vive!" The Duc de Coigny gave his name. General Balthagar was very unwilling to admit men in uniform with the tricoloured cockade. The Duc de Coigny who was known to him, said, "that they were the Commissioners of the Lieutenant General." Permission was then given to pass through the

camp; without the Duc de Coigny it is probable that it would not have been obtained. They pursued the road to the town; on each side were seen troops, bivouacing in the forest, the fires were lit, and here and there some straggling lights glimmered in a tent. Soldiers half asleep ran towards the carriage, enquiring of each other who it could be; they whispered their comments, but appeared restless and discontented. They met a few public carriages, which were allowed to circulate through the town and the camp, on condition that they took down the tricoloured banners from the roof. The Commissioners alone retained their colours in the midst of twelve thousand men, wearing the white cockade. The moment did not seem propitious for the success of their mission; it was on that very morning that Henri V. had been proclaimed, which had excited much enthusiasm among the gardes du corps, and called forth many protestations of fidelity from the ranks.

On their arrival at Rambouillet, the Commissioners alighted at the Hotel St. Martin, and deputed the Duc de Coigny to announce them to the King, and request an interview.

"A safeguard," said the King, "and for what purpose? I have no want of it. I am

surrounded by my army, a faithful army; I have made known my intentions to my Lieutenant General, (the abdication in favor of Henri V.) and I shall not quit Rambouillet unless they are fulfilled. Who are these Commissioners?" The Duc de Coigny told their names. On hearing that of M. de Schonen, the King said, "Ah! yes, the fat judge." And at the name of Odillon Barrot, "What! the lawyer, the famous lawyer."

"Yes, Sire."

The King refused to receive the Commissioners. He sent the Duc de Raguse to tell them, that he did not invite them to remain at Rambouillet; that he had no occasion for them; but that they might remain if they pleased; and that if they did remain, and found themselves ill accomodated at the inn, they would find at the Chateau both board and lodging for themselves.

The Duc de Raguse said, "That they had full opportunity of seeing that Charles X. had a much more numerous force than was necessary for his safety; besides, the abdication of the King and of the Dauphin was calculated to smooth all difficulties, and it would be well to await the result.

This was not the opinion of the Commis-

sioners, particularly of Schonen and Odillon Barrot. The Duc de Coigny, pressed by them to make another effort with the King, was himself, on the second application, refused admittance. "You know very well," said the attendants to him, "that when once the King has retired to his apartments for the night, and dismissed the service, no one can be admitted."

The Commissioners, perceiving that there was no chance of seeing the King, took counsel together; Marshal Maison, as an experienced warrior, held, that their position as negotiators was not tenable in the midst of a hostile army, whose chief refused to receive them, and would not acknowledge them in that character. He urged their return to Paris, in which opinion they all soon coincided, and took their departure. They drove strait to the Palais Royal. The Duke of Orleans was not risen; he came to meet them half dressed. "Monseigneur," they said, "Charles X. remains in a hostile attitude, he has refused to receive us, he has no need of a safeguard. The presence of an army at the gates of the capital may spread the flames of civil war, through other parts of France. Too much blood has been already shed, it is quite urgent that some

decisive blow should be struck to intimidate Charles and his family, and it is moreover necessary, Monseigneur, that it should originate with you."

The Prince exclaimed, "How can you propose that it should be I who must take rigorous measures against the royal family?" Nevertheless the provisional ministers were summoned, the call was beat through the streets of Paris, to assemble five hundred men from each legion to march on Rambouillet. The three days were not far gone by, the barricades were still in existence, the whole city was soon in disorder.

The citizens deserted their shops, enquiring of each other, what was the matter; they stopped the drummers. "It is Charles X. who refuses to quit Rambouillet. It is Charles X. who is marching to Paris. It is Charles X. who insists on crowning Henri V." And the citizens returned to their homes to fetch their arms, and the cry was heard, "To Rambouillet! To Rambouillet!"

In a few hours this assemblage encreased to some thousands, who joined themselves to the national guards, on the Champs Elysées.

All the carriages stationed in the neighbourhood were put in immediate requisition for

their conveyance; hackney coaches, cabriolets, coucous, omnibusses carolines, &c. &c. General Pajol and M. G. Lafayette took the command.

All set out with six pieces of cannon, about one o'clock in the day; it was a laughable disorder, a tumultuous crew of such grotesque appearance, that one regiment of the line might have scattered them to the winds. The Commissioners headed this motley array.

This Parisian army was encreased at every village through which it marched. The cry of "*Rambouillet,*" was no sooner uttered, than every one ran to join it, a spectator would have thought that it was some great party of pleasure, in which all would fain partake. At last they amounted to twenty thousand men, of all professions, of all hues, armed or not armed. At eight in the evening this crude mass of insurgents had arrived within half a league of Rambouillet, here they pitched their tents, or rather laid themselves down helter skelter in the fields of wheat and clover, on the right side of the road, while they posted their little park of artillery, and their train of coaches, omnibusses, coucous, and cabriolets on the left. They had no bread or provisions of any sort, but they pillaged every thing which came in

their way; they broke open the house of the Curate, in which they pretended to find carbines, cartouches and uniforms of the *Garde Royale*; one thing however is much more certain, they found wine, brandy, a cow, and some sheep, which were confiscated without pity. The few old soldiers among them taught their hungry comrades how to roast the meat on the points of the bayonets and sabres.

The Curate fortunately made his escape.

During this halt, the Commissioners moved onward to gain an interview with the King, and try to accelerate his departure. They demanded a pass from the Duc de Raguse, who by order of his Majesty, allowed them to proceed, and went himself to meet them. But this time instead of conducting them by the common road, as on the preceeding evening, he led them up to the Chateau through the park, and the middle of the camp, that they might form some estimate of the troops, which the King still held at his disposal. As they then could only see those, which lined the road, amounting to barely three thousand men; so now they were permitted to view the whole force, consisting of twelve thousand infantry, three thousand five hundred horse, and forty pieces of cannon. The gardes du

corps were dismounted, standing at their horses heads, with the bridle in one hand, the pistol in the other. The Commissioners then passed through the court, and the vast halls of the Chateau de Rambouillet, crowded with officers in full uniform, who gazed upon them with signs of curiosity. The Duc de Raguse undertook the office of introducing them to his Majesty.

The King was walking backwards and forwards absorbed in thought, and evidently irritated. "Sire," said the Marshal, on presenting the delegates, "Here are the Commissioners."

"What do they want?" said the King, scarcely turning his eyes in that direction, and continuing his walk with longer strides, "Let them leave me in peace!"

Marshal Maison first broke silence, at the same time presenting a letter from the Lieutenant General, "Sire, your Majesty is perhaps not aware that we are followed by a part of the population of Paris, who are marching directly upon Rambouillet. They are in a very excited state, and we come with the view of offering a protection to your Majesty."

"Why do the Parisians persecute me even into this retreat? I shall go to some foreign

country, it is long since I have wished to take this step; but at least time might have been allowed to me to arrange my plans, and select a place of retirement. What is their object? Is it my life? I am quite ready to die."

Odillon Barrot then in his turn addressed the King. "Sire," said he "I have no doubt that your Majesty is prepared to die, as far as your own interests are concerned; but not those of others who are dear to you. Were your Majesty alone, it would be different, but those, who have followed you hither, are your most faithful friends and adherents, whose lives you would be loth to sacrifice in a useless struggle. Your Majesty has abdicated, as has also M. le Dauphin. Your longer presence at the gates of Paris, can only be an excitement to disturbance and civil war."

"But," replied the King with warmth, "we have only abdicated in favor of the Duc de Bordeaux, and I will defend his rights till the last hour of my existence."

"Sire, that is a question which we do not pretent to arbitrate, nothing as yet has been decided. The Duke of Orleans is only provisionally Lieutenant General. We know not what the voice of the nation may decree. But your Majesty must feel that any further shed-

ding of blood would ill serve the cause of the Duc de Bordeaux; every care should be taken that his name, which has fortunately hitherto never been mixed up with our civil dissensions, should not at any future day be stained with such fatal recollections."

"What then is to be done?"

"Sire," replied Odillon Barrot, grasping the hands of the King, "You must depart, and depart immediately, let your Majesty make this last sacrifice to the welfare of the country."

"We are followed by sixty thousand men," added the Marshal Maison.

"Retire and wait for my orders," said the King.

This conversation took place in a hurried manner, and broken by frequent interruptions on both sides. The King very agitated, dry in his manner, and striding up and down the room, caused almost every phrase to be repeated, as his hearing was very imperfect. The Commissioners spoke very loud, and sometimes all at once. Marshal Marmont alone was present at the interview, but the King's anti-room was crowded with courtiers and officers, anxiously awaiting the result. All eyes and ears were directed towards the door of the room, where their future destinies were at stake.

When the Commissioners came out, all thronged around them to know their fate. During this interval the King sent again for Marshal Maison. The Marshal at first refused to return without his two colleagues. He had served the restoration; he had received from Charles X. the highest dignity which could be conferred on a military man; he was not much known to his two companions, and was apprehensive that if the King should form any resolution hostile to the objects of their mission, immediately after any private conversation with himself, it might create suspicions detrimental to his character as a man of honour; it was therefore only at their particular request that he at length obeyed the summons. He was no sooner alone with Charles X. than that Prince said to him with a solemn air, "Monsieur le Marechal, you are a military man, consequently a man of honour. I have sent for you again, in order that you may assure me on your word of honour, that what you have just now asserted in the presence of those gentlemen, (the march on Rambouillet of more than sixty thousand men,) is absolutely true, in that case I will believe it."

The Marshal again repeated the assurance

to his Majesty, that he was convinced of it, and that neither his colleagues or himself would have stated a fact which they did not firmly believe to be true. He then entered into a detail of the multitudes which the Commissioners had seen on the road from Paris even to St. Cyr, and told the King that he soon might have ocular demonstration of their imposing numbers.

"You think then that these immense masses will attack us before the day is over?"

"Sire, you will know it to your cost, if you remain here."

And as the attitude of the King bespoke considerable anxiety, the Marshal took advantage of it to press his point. After a moment's pause, the King, who seemed still lost in reflexion, added, "Well then, I will go."

He made an attempt to lead the conversation to passing events, and to the claims of Henri V. The Marshal entreated his Majesty, if he wished to discuss general subjects, to allow M. M. Schonen and Odillon Barrot to be called in, as he was unable to give any opinion without them; he said that in revolutions it was very difficult to escape suspicion, and that his own peculiar position required great prudence and caution. This observation

seemed to strike the King very forcibly, who replied, "How?—what you." Then making a pause, he said, "You may retire, I shall depart."

When the King was alone with the Duc de Raguse, he asked his opinion. "The Marshal conceived that the number of Parisian volunteers was very much exaggerated, and that there could be little difficulty in putting the whole to flight; but he thought the question should not be considered solely in that point of view. Before it was resolved to engage the combat, it would be adviseable to consider the elements with which it was to be maintained. It could not be disguised that the late desertions among the troops were not calculated to inspire much confidence in their loyalty. In order to select a proper ground to attack the Parisians with advantage, it would be necessary to march upon them at three leagues from Rambouillet, as the woods extend to that distance on the Paris side. The column had most probably advanced nearer, since the Commissioners had quitted it, and a portion of the stragglers would have penetrated into the woods; in order therefore to make an advantageous use of the cavalry, which, with the artillery was the most efficient arm

to employ against them; it became necessary to drive them out of the forest, and this could only be effected by bringing up the infantry in such numbers, that the royal residence would be left nearly unprotected. And then if the troops did not do their duty, in what a perilous position would the King be placed!

"Every dependance might be made on the gardes du corps, but it was indispensable that they should be left to protect the King and his family, whose safety was of the first importance; and however brave cavalry might be they became useless in the woods, where four or five hundred sharpshooters would suffice to exterminate them.

"The determination to attack the enemy seemed, therefore, to be attended with much hazard, and in such a critical moment as little as possible should be left to chance. A longer stay at Rambouillet was impossible; as a military position it was indefensible, it was a mere funnel surrounded by forests, without space to form the troops in any regularity. Amidst all the baggage and confusion inseparable from the movement of a court; amidst the encumbrance of one hundred and fifty carriages of all descriptions; the least mishap might produce a scramble or an alarm, which

might have the most serious and dreadful consequences. Thus, for instance, if only a few stragglers from the enemy's column should make their way through the woods, to within sight of the Chateau, the report of a few musket shots within the royal precinct, would be sufficient to create a panic among all the household, and cause the most irreparable mischief and disorder. Following up these motives, and laying every stress on the bad spirit of the soldiers, which late experience had given him too much reason to dread, the Marshal said to the King, that in his opinion the most adviseable plan would be to retire, without causing any useless sacrifice of human life, and take up a strong position on the Loire, where the interests of Henri V. might be more effectually maintained."

"Well then," said the King to him, "let us proceed to Maintenon, we shall there see what is best to be done."

Thus did the royal family, surrounded by an army, composed of the best troops of France, retreat before an undisciplined rabble without attempting to strike a blow, at the suggestion of Marshal Marmont. It is not to be supposed that the troops thus vilified by their chief, were ready to betray the cause, in which they

were enlisted, but allowance must be made for the disheartening conflict endured by them in Paris, under his command, where they had not even been allowed to show their natural courage, or make reprisals on their blood-thirsty assailants. Men like the Swiss who had been forced to lay down their arms before a mob, who had been smuggled out of the town in disguise, or who had seen their comrades butchered in cold blood without resistance, must naturally have felt the demoralizing effects, of such unsoldier-like treatment. But there were officers in that army of warmer hearts, and more untainted loyalty, who still retained that confidence in the valour and fidelity of the French soldier, which has always been proverbial. "Give me," said General Talon to the King, "a regiment of cavalry, and I will drive this disorderly mob like chaff before the wind. Such however are the circumstances which often decide the fate of kingdoms.

There is another current version of these transactions at Rambouillet, which in the spirit of impartiality is worthy of notice.

The King arrived at Rambouillet on Satur-

day the 31st of July, at four o'clock in the afternoon. On the following day, certain individuals in Paris really attached to his person but ill-informed of what was going on, and easily alarmed, made their way to the Palais Royal, and informed the Duke of Orleans that the King was exposed to imminent personal danger at Rambouillet, that the population of the environs was in a state of open insurrection, and threatened to massacre all the Royal Family in cold blood.

The Duke of Orleans, really alarmed at this intelligence, lost no time in sending for M. de Mortemart, wishing to concert with him on the best means of saving the Princes from this new impending danger. It was by them decided to nominate Commissioners, who should instantly repair to Rambouillet, take every step to ensure the safety of the Royal Family, and offer them any pecuniary assistance, of which they might be in want.

It became a point of consideration to select such individuals as might appear worthy of all confidence to the King, and at the same time combine with them some men of the popular party, who might have a decided influence with the insurgents. M. de Mortemart in consequence proposed the Duc de Coigny,

aide-de-camp to the Duc de Bordeaux, who had made every exertion in the Chamber of Peers to serve the fallen family, and the Duke of Orleans on his side nominated the Marshal Maison, M. de Schonen and Odillon Barrot. M. de Mortemart confided to the Duc de Coigny a long dispatch addressed to the King, in which he gave a detailed account of his own proceedings, the insurmountable difficulties which had crossed his path, and the desperate position to which affairs had arrived.

The four Commissioners arrived in the night at Rambouillet, they found the King calm and collected, he appeared indeed free from all apprehension.

He refused the proffered advance of money, stating that he was in want of nothing, and would wait patiently the final result of the negotiations entrusted to M. de Mortemart. The Commissioners satisfied that the alarm was without foundation, withdrew, and retook the road to Paris.

It is presumed that after his interview with M. de Coigny, the King made up his mind to abdicate, and create by his own authority the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant General of the kingdom; as the nomination was published in Paris on the following day. This document

superseded the powers granted to M. de Mortemart, who though his functions had been merely nominal, must still have felt greatly relieved by their termination. It was then generally understood that the Dauphin as well as the King had abdicated, that the Royal Family was desirous of retiring into Italy or Austria, and that the Duc de Bordeaux was to be retained in France, to be educated in a manner more conformable to the ideas of the present day.

This arrangement was little suited to the views of those who were obstinately bent on the final exclusion of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

Emissaries were employed to circulate the most unfounded reports, that Charles X. had revoked his abdication, and was determined on resuming his power by main force; that he had fortified himself in Rambouillet, doubled the pay of his army, and was intent on waging a civil war with his subjects. This news, absurd as it was, flew like wildfire through the streets of Paris; the populace became indignant, and a general cry of defiance was raised against the royal troops, whom it was decided to attack at once in their own intrenchments. The sound and reflecting portion of the inhabi-

tants took no part whatever in these wild demonstrations; they saw at once the evils, into which the mischievous intentions of a few were ready to plunge the country, and declined all participation in these new excesses. But the lower classes were more easily led into the snare, some hundreds were collected on the Place de Louis XV., who taking forcible possession of all the hackney coaches, omnibusses coucous, &c., &c. which came in their way, set out on their march with frantic cries of "A Rambouillet! A Rambouillet!"

As soon as the Duke of Orleans received intimation of this new movement, the real objects of which he was himself unable to define, he lost no time in dispatching the same Commissioners again to Rambouillet, in order to protect the Royal Family. But the Duc de Coigny could not mistake the object of this second mission. He felt that the Commissioners this time would be destined to conduct the Royal Family to the frontiers of France, and unwilling to be employed in such a service, he allowed M. M. Maison, Odillon Barrot, and Schonen, to depart alone.

Those gentlemen soon passed on the road these straggling bands of insurgent patriots; but true to the object which they had in view,

they neglected no means of encreasing the panic, which this event had created. This march of the Parisians on Rambouillet was a mere copy of that on Versailles, which took place in October 1789, and it was natural to suppose that it should produce the same intimidation.

The first question which the King addressed to the Commissioners, was to ask the numbers of those Parisians, who were coming to attack him.

One of them, more influenced by party spirit, than regard to truth, immediately replied, that not less than 80,000 men were on the road.

A moment's reflexion might have shown the impossibility of collecting such a multitude at so short a notice, but the object was to induce the King at any rate to retire, and form a decided resolution to quit the soil of France. This was in accordance with plans and events of a different nature, which were then concocting at the *Palais du corps legislatif.* Unfortunately the Commissioner was too successful in convincing the King of the truth of his assertions; he had indeed every reason to exult in the success of his stratagem, as the departure of the Royal Family was then definitively settled.

The Marshal, on hearing the order given for Maintenon, and supposing the ulterior destination would be Tours or Blois, sent forward to Chartres, M. Berteux, an officer of his staff, to collect provisions; General Talon with his brigade of light cavalry, and all the artillery, was ordered to march as an advanced guard, and take possession of the town.

M. Berteux fulfilled his orders, but the King when arrived at Maintenon having resolved to take another direction, the former received instructions to rejoin the cavalcade at Dreux.

The Marshal intimated to the Commissioners that his Majesty would sleep that night at the Chateau of the Duc de Noailles. He set off, in fact, at eleven o'clock with his entire suite, carriages, horses, cannon, and men.

Rambouillet became a desert. Those halls and courts, which had lately rung with the sounds of a busy multitude, now became the abode of silence and repose. A few national guards took quiet possession of the Chateau, finding no remnant of the late splendid garrison, except one solitary garde du corps, who overcome with fatigue, had fallen asleep in a retired corner, and awoke surprised to see that his comrades had abandoned him. The Com-

missioners ordered the tricoloured flag to be raised on the tower. "It is all ready," said the Mayor, "We only waited the departure of the King," which tallied ill with his expressions of loyalty two days before. The diamonds of the crown were restored, a *proces verbal* was drawn up, and the seals placed to this precious deposit, which was immediately forwarded to Paris.

The Commissioners sent orders to stop the advance of the insurgent column, who had beaten *La Diane* in the middle of the night, and were preparing to attack Rambouillet without delay. On hearing that the King was gone, the Parisians turned back, evidently much disappointed, nevertheless, three or four hundred slipped away from their ranks, and furtively reached the Chateau, allured by the hopes of spoil; there they found some of the court carriages, of which they immediately took possession for their own conveyance to Paris. They climbed inside, outside, behind, and before, as many as could find a place, and the horses could draw. It was a grotesque, perhaps a disgusting sight, to see these men of the lowest class, with their naked arms, their callous hands, and their course voices, in ragged trowsers and caps, or bare headed,

thronging into those gilded coaches, which only a few days before had been occupied by the King, the Princes, and the very highest nobles of the land; in which even the Marshals of France were forbidden by etiquette to enter, except in the absence of the first lords in waiting, and the captains of the guard. Now they were not only filled with other occupants, but joints of raw meat were thrown without any ceremony on the white silk cushions, as a provision for the journey.

The Commissioners set off at half past twelve o'clock for Maintenon, in a carriage drawn by four mules, belonging to the royal stables. The King had sent to request that they would not wear their tricoloured scarfs, which they hung out of the window of the carriage, and when they appeared in his presence they turned their hats in such manner that the cockade should not be perceivable by him. They arrived at half past two, and were received with great civility by the Duke and Duchesse de Noailles. Those who belonged to the royal suite also treated them with much politeness, from a conviction that their attentions in return, perhaps even their protection, might be conducive to the welfare of the King and his family. At times allusions were made

to the future destinies of Henri V. On one occasion, in the drawing room at Maintenon, the Duchesse de Gontaut said to M. de Schonen, "I feel very much tempted to place this child on your knee, and leave him under your care."

"Perhaps, madam, you would act very right, but I would not undertake the charge."

The party was seated round a table covered with newspapers and pamphlets, the King and the Princes had retired to rest; the Duc de Luxembourg, that high bred pattern of the *Vieille Cour*, said to the Commissioners, "Je ne suis pas un grand militaire, mais pardieu, je vous aurais fait tater, on ne s'en va pas devant une pareille cohue sans savoir ce que c'est."

The Duc de Raguse followed the King with the troops. On his arrival at Epernon, a man on horseback delivered to him a dispatch addressed to the Colonels of the two Swiss regiments, whom, during the darkness of the night, he had been unable to find out. This dispatch contained the safeguard sent from Paris by M. de Maillardoz. The Marshal put it in his pocket. At about four in the morning the troops arrived at Maintenon. The King told the Duc de Raguse, that his decision now was formed; that he should not

proceed to the Loire, but would direct his course to Cherbourg, from whence he would embark; that he would commence his journey on that very day, and go as far as Dreux to sleep.

M. Christian Dumas, son of the General Mathieu Dumas, bearer of letters from Paris to the Commissioners, overtook the cavalcade between Maintenon and Dreux on the morning of the fourth. As he entered into conversation with some officers of the garde royale, one of them said to him, "By the bye, tell us exactly what was the real number of the Paris army?"

"Fifteen to twenty thousand," replied M. Dumas, who was quite ignorant that the Commissioners had magnified them to the King up to sixty thousand.

"What did they do at Rambouillet, when they found that we were all gone!"

"Not more than three hundred ever came to Rambouillet, the others returned at once to Paris."

This information, so diametrically opposite to the assertions of the Commissioners, seemed to make a very unpleasant impression on the whole escort. Their chiefs in particular, with the exception of the Duc de Raguse, shewed

evident signs of anger and discontent. They openly accused Marshal Maison of having wilfully deceived the King, and expressed their own regrets, at not having cut in pieces this handful of ragamuffins. At Verneuil, after dinner, unable to contain their feelings, they reproached the Marshal bitterly with his want of veracity.

"You are very ungrateful," said he in reply, as "I have been your saviour. Supposing for an instant that you had gained some momentary advantage, it would in the end have produced the most incalculable mischief. A general rising must have ensued, and you would have been attacked in your turn by multitudes so numerous, that you must in the end have been utterly annihilated. In such a case what would have been the fate of the august personages committed to your charge; they would have become the victims of popular indignation, rendered more implacable by an act, equally fruitless and cruel."

"We should at least have revenged ourselves on a set of scoundrels, and moreover have ridden the Duke of Orleans of them, which would have been rendering him also a signal service."

Still all did not view the subject in the same

exasperated light, and at a later period more justice was rendered to the intentions of the Commissioners.

Warned however by this language, they took measures in future to dine alone, instead of frequenting the table of the great officers of the crown, where also a system of strict etiquette still prevailed, as far as the present slender means of enforcing it would permit.

At Maintenon the escort of the King was composed of his *gardes du corps à cheval*, the *gendarmerie d'élite*, and, at his urgent request, of two pieces of cannon, and two artillery waggons, forming altogether a force of one thousand eight hundred and sixty men. All the rest of the army was dismissed.

Marshal Maison assigned to the disbanded troops Chartres and the neighbourhood, as their place of cantonment, giving them for that purpose their marching orders signed by himself. The company of foot guards gave up their standard to the King in person. All the officers of the army were admitted to take leave of him, of the Princes, and the Princesses. The King thanked them for their fidelity, and gave them his hand to kiss; but his manner now was reserved, apparently stifling his grief, and preserving his royal dignity.

The Dauphin showed nothing peculiarly striking, either in his air or manner. The Duchesse de Berri, volatile and nervous, seemed to go from one extreme to the other; at one moment smiling, at another sobbing; she wept loudly for the fate of her children, then at the next minute her attention was drawn away to the scene which surrounded her.

The Dauphine was absorbed in grief; she passed slowly before the troops in line, and bade them all a most affecting farewell; she embraced several of the officers, folding them in her arms, and weeping over them without restraint while they stooped to kiss her hand. Not a dry eye was to be seen. Even the soldier's rugged cheeks were bedewed with tears.

It was not perhaps the thrilling scene at Fontainbleau; the great hero of the age was not there, with the record of a hundred victories; but this also was a dethronement, —an exile; and the idea of two successive overthrows following so quickly on each other, could not but prove a forcible appeal to the feelings, as well as to the meditations of the spectator.

It was a woman too, a woman whose whole life had been nurtured in suffering; whose

infancy had been seared by the bloody days of October, the journey to Varennes, and the tower of the Temple; whose youth had been passed in banishment and seclusion, and whose misfortunes now seemed sealed irrevocably for ever. Whatever might have been the mistakes, whatever might have been the faults of her ill fated family, no human heart could remain unmoved by the tears of a Princess, who owned Louis XVI. for her father, and Marie Antoinette for her mother.

The King after taking leave of the troops, directed an order of the day to be published, which was conceived in the following terms.

Maintenon, August 4th, 1830.

"Immediately after the departure of the King, all the infantry regiments of the guard, and the gendarmerie, will set out for Chartres, where they will receive the necessary provisions. All the commanders of corps, after having assembled their regiments, will declare to them, that his Majesty feels the most profound sorrow at thus bidding them farewell; and has further commissioned them to express in his name, the most lively satisfaction at their conduct. His Majesty will for ever bear indelibly engraved in his memory the heroic

constancy of the troops, and the fortitude with which they have supported all the fatigues and privations, resulting from the late melancholy crisis.

"The King for the last time transmits his orders to the brave soldiers of his guard, who have hitherto followed his person; that they shall repair to Paris, and make their submission to the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, who has taken all the measures necessary for their safety and future welfare."

When the Commissioners departed from Maintenon, the Duchesse de Noailles apprehensive that the Chateau, which had afforded hospitality to Charles X., might be exposed to the vengeance of the mob, requested from them a safeguard, which was given with the utmost readiness.

Previous to setting out, General Vincent directed the carriages, with baggage belonging to the Princes, which encumbered the march, to be drawn out of the court, that they might not fall in at the head of the column; it was his wish to keep up a military attitude, and advance in regular order.

"But, General," said the Dauphin, "my carriage must pass first, it contains my little savings."

"Impossible," Monseigneur, "it cannot pass more than the others; our chief objects must be to save the children, their carriages alone can pass."

The King set out at half past nine for Dreux. The Comte de Geslin, Quarter master of the Palace, who had preceded his Majesty in order to secure the proper accommodations, returned with the disagreeable information that the inhabitants of Dreux were not disposed to receive the King. M. M. de Schonen and Odillon Barrot, on hearing this intelligence, girded themselves with their tricoloured scarfs, and leaving Marshal Maison in his carriage, took the road to Dreux. They went strait to the Hotel de Ville, where a considerable assemblage was formed; they made a long harangue, stating "That the nation was victorious; that Charles X. was no longer an object of fear; that he was tranquilly departing to leave the shores of France for ever; that his misfortunes had a claim to universal respect; that the Commissioners were instructed to watch over his safety, and his journey to the coast; finally, that no Frenchmen could be justified in throwing obstacles in the way of a great national object."

This discourse, pronounced with great

warmth and energy, made a considerable impression; when the Commissioners left the Hotel de Ville, they found the national guard drawn out on the great square, and surrounded by numbers of the people. M. Odillon Barrot was requested to repeat his harangue, he was forced to mount in a balcony, from whence he reiterated the same arguments to the populace, which had just produced a salutary effect in the Hotel de Ville.

As soon as he had concluded, they all cried out, "Let him come, but on the condition that we preserve the national colours."

The Commissioners then returned with M. Geslin, who had witnessed the interview, to meet the Royal party. The latter was in despair, he exclaimed, with tears in his eyes, "Have I then lived to see my Master and my King treated in this disgraceful manner," he beat his forehead with his hands, and cried out, "My King! My King!"

It was impossible to make him comprehend, that he should look upon Charles X. as a dethroned King, that the principal object was to preserve his life, and provide for his accommodation on the road; to secure which, it was indispensable not to thwart the public feeling. He would listen to no arguments, he continued

to weep, and repeat, "My King! My King!" Every one seemed affected with the grief of this loyal servant.

On approaching the escort, M. Odillon Barrot met the Dauphin, to whom he said, "Monseigneur, the Royal Family can sleep at Dreux, but it must make up its mind to see the national colours displayed."

"That is no affair of mine, speak to the King."

M. Odillon Barrot made the same communication to his Majesty, who replied in a determined tone, "Never mind, I shall enter the town."

As they marched into Dreux, General Vincent stationed himself at the door of the King's coach, conceiving that the sight of a general officer, in uniform, with his head bare, would create some feeling of respect for the King. "Vincent, Vincent," cried the Dauphin, "that is the place of the Lieutenant of the gardes du corps."

Hitherto the Commissioners had followed in the rear, but from this time the King directed them to precede him, which was the order of march for the rest of the journey. They took his orders every day for the places where they were to halt, or to sleep; they set

out first in the morning, travelled quicker than him, prepared the lodging, provided every thing, and paid for every thing. Sometimes they were obliged to battle with the populace, to obtain proper and respectful treatment for the King; when they had once seen him suitably installed for the night, they took a short repose, then early the next morning set out again to perform the same duty at the following stages.

It was the wish of the government, as may be supposed, that the journey should be accomplished in the shortest time, but the King announced his determination to travel very slowly. It is believed that he had fears for the life of the Duc de Bordeaux, on the road, and was anxious to see him surrounded with a numerous escort; now, as the cavalry could not well perform more than ten to twelve leagues per day consecutively, it was not possible to effect so long a journey with greater speed. The King therefore, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the Commissioners to hasten his march, remained firm to his original plan.

On the borders of the road taken by the Royal Family from St. Cloud, were various fine chateaux, of which the proprietors occu-

pied eminent places at Court, or owed their whole fortune to the restoration; none of these however appeared at their thresholds to offer a passing hospitality to their fallen benefactors, except the generous Duc de Noailles, whose loyalty and attachment to his sovereign was checked by no selfish considerations.

The King slept at Verneuil, on the fifth. The Mayor and the Curate of the town came to render homage to the King. The Mayor requested permission of the Commissioners to present several inhabitants, who were anxious to pay their respects to his Majesty, and to this no objections were made.

Some of the gardes du corps, under a strong feeling of irritation, indulged in very violent expressions against the Commissioners, to such a degree indeed that a rumour was circulated, that M. Odillon Barrot's life was in danger.

This latter gentleman sent them word, "That they were quite mistaken as to the mission of the Commissioners; that they were not sent to persecute the King, but to preserve him from all insult; that they hoped their interference had not been useless; but if the servants of the King conceived that their own escort was sufficient, without any other safe-

guard, the Commissioners then were quite ready to retire, and leave him to that protection."

This appeal had the desired effect, and checked any further murmurs.

On the 6th, they arrived at L'Aigle, the King lodged at the castle.

Billets were distributed partially to the gardes du corps, who had hitherto bivouaced in the open air.

The etiquette prescribes that the Kings of France should dine at a square table, as the place of honour is more distinctly pointed out than at a circular. During the whole of this journey the King's household adhered rigidly to this rule, and as no square table couldbe found at L'Aigle, it became necessary to have one made for the purpose.

The Duchesse de Berri on quitting Rambouillet had dressed herself in men's clothes; she wore a frock coat, waistcoat, white trowsers, boots, a black silk neckcloth, and a round hat with a very broad brim. At Millerant she resumed the attire of her own sex, but the materials were of the commonest description, like those of the Dauphine.

The Commissioners received every day the newspapers by express, they offered them to the King, who perused them from beginning

to end, they also delivered to him, without opening them, all the letters which were addressed to him, but these were not numerous.

M. de Schonen corresponded daily with M. Dupont de l'Eure, keeper of the seals; and M. Odillon Barrot with M. Guizot, Minister of the Interior.

The King arrived on the 8th, at Argentan, passed there the whole of the 9th, and did not leave it till the 10th. It was on the night of the 9th, that a Courier arrived from Paris with the important intelligence that the Duke of Orleans had been proclaimed King by the Chambers under the name of Philip I. The inhabitants of Argentan, who were very loyally disposed, manifested a sincere regret that the Royal Family should have learnt this mortifying news in their town; they were curious to see the impression it had made on the countenance of the princes, and thronged round the carriage at the moment of their departure. But the physiognomy of the august family remained unaltered; the Duchesse de Berri alone showed signs of displeasure; all her movements indicated an irritable impatience.

It was probably this event that induced the

Commissioners to remark to the King the impropriety of his continuing to travel accompanied by two pieces of cannon, and a numerous cavalry. Having first insiduously persuaded him to dismiss his army, they now resolved to curtail him of all his remaining means of defence; they were justified perhaps in all they did to avoid the chances of a civil war, but if the proceeding was politic it was not conducted with frankness.

They were well aware how strongly the King was bent on retaining his present escort, and how difficult a task it would be to induce him to give it up. They treated it therefore as all delicate affairs are best treated in a diplomatic note, and wrote the following in their joint names to his Majesty.

"SIRE,

"The military force which now follows your Majesty, is too much for an escort, and too little for an army. If your Majesty has serious intentions of making war, you have no occasion for us, and we will retire; if on the contrary, your only object is to arrive at the coast in safety, under the protection of the national honour, you have no

occasion for all these troops which disquiet the surrounding populations, and may eventually bring your Majesty into a very unpleasant if not dangerous dilemma. We therefore supplicate your Majesty to be contented with a simple guard of honor."

The King complained bitterly of the want of respect shown to his grey hairs; he said "That it was his wish at least to travel through France like a King; that it was a satisfaction to him at this moment to see near him a deputation from all the corps of his army; that such a proof of fidelity was flattering, and he could see no reason why they should wish to deprive him of it."

The Commissioners remained firm in their resolution. Marshal Maison gave orders to the Lieutenant of artillery who commanded the train, to rejoin his corps.

"Monsieur le Marechal," he replied, "I request that you will cause this order to be given to me, in the name of the King, and through the Marshal, who commands the troops; in failure of this, I shall continue to march with the escort. My comrades in selecting me to accompany Charles X., charged me in the sacred name of honour never to

abandon him till he quitted France, or ordered me to leave him. I have given my word, and I will not swerve from it."

The Marshal advised him to reflect on the consequences of such an obstinate refusal, he declared to him, that happen what might, the two pieces of cannon should not move another step in the train of the escort. The officer remained unshaken in his purpose, and the Marshal who could not but esteem his courageous firmness, made such energetic representations to the Duc de Raguse, that the order was at length given to the commander of the artillery, to quit the escort. As soon as it was made known to him, he went to receive those of Marshal Maison, for his future destination, declaring that he felt happy at being released from such a painful situation, that he was ready to wear the national colours, and would yield to no one in zeal for the defence of his country.

The King then resigned himself to the loss of the cavalry of his guard, and merely retained the gardes du corps, who followed him to Cherbourg.

Charles X. attended mass at the principal church of Argentan, a ceremony which he

never omitted any one day in the course of his journey.

There were two circumstances still which caused great uneasiness to the government; first, as has been already mentioned, the tardiness of the King's journey, and then the road which he had selected through the country, which was formerly the head quarters of the Chouans. Under this feeling they dispatched a fourth Commissioner in M. Adam de la Pommeraye, deputy from Calvados, with instructions to dissuade the King from passing through Condé sur Noireau, Vire and Thorigney, and urge him to take the high road through Caen; he was moreover to use every effort to accelerate the tardy progress of the march. He joined his colleagues at Argentan, furnished with full powers both civil and military, but obtained there no audience of the King.

On the 10th, the whole retinue set out for Condé sur Noireau, by way of Falaise; the King did not choose to stop at this latter place, either because he dreaded the concourse of people then assembled to attend the fair of Guibray, or because he was anxious to arrive at Condé sur Noireau, and at Vire, where he

had reason to suppose that the populace were more favorably disposed towards the royal cause.

M. de la Pommeraye was impatient to see the King, because it is on leaving Falaise, that the two roads to Cherbourg meet, one through Caen, the other through Vire. The Commissioners said to him, " We have never urged the King to go by Caen, we know not how he would receive the suggestion, but we have repeatedly intreated him to travel faster, and can make no effect. You may convince yourself if you try.

At Falaise a breakfast was prepared at the house of the former Mayor, a man devoted to Charles X. The King refused to stop, although carefully reminded of this circumstance, and when the Commissioners demanded an interview, his Majesty replied, " That he could only receive them a little further on." On his arrival at a miserable public house on the other side of Falaise, he gave orders to halt, and alighting from his carriage to take some refreshment, gave orders that they should be introduced. M. de la Pommeraye took this opportunity of proposing the road through Caen, " Sire," said he, " you will find much better accommodation, as your Majesty is

expected; the towns are of more importance, and the hotels more suitably furnished than on the road to Vire. I am a native of this part of the country, am well acquainted with it, and can assure your Majesty, that you will be received with the greatest respect, and treated with all the consideration due to your rank and position."

The King would hear nothing of it.

M. de la Pommeraye was not more successful in his second proposal.

The King declared "that he would not travel with more expedition, which was quite contrary to his usual habits; that he was glad of an opportunity to pass three or four days more in France, and gratify the eagerness of those, who were anxious to pay their respects to him."

"You see how it is," said the other Commissioners to M. de la Pommeraye, as they quitted the King's apartment.

When the party arrived at Condé sur Noireau, some unpleasant symptoms were observed among the inhabitants, they did not absolutely refuse an entrance into the town, but they stipulated that the national guard should be under arms, as the King passed, without rendering him the usual military honours.

An officer of the gardes du corps, M. de la Maisonfort, who was present at the negociation with the Commissioners, remarked, "It is precisely what the King would wish."

Charles X. took up his abode in a handsome house, offered to him by the owner, who nevertheless expressed his apprehensions lest his illustrious guests should not feel at their ease under his roof, in as much as he and his family were of the reformed religion. "Sire," said he, with some embarrassment, "I am a Protestant."

"So was Henri IV.," replied the King with his usual amenity.

The manner of the King with the Commissioners was short and dry, he rarely spoke to them but when absolutely necessary, and never on politics; on one occasion only at Condé, he happened to say, "You may do what you please, but legitimacy after all is the only solid guarantee of order and tranquillity, you will see that you are obliged to return to it at last."

They made no reply, and the conversation went no further; but though the King maintained this constant reserve, he never deviated from the rules of politeness, (except perhaps for one moment, on their arrival at Ram-

bouillet,) and treated them always with that cold civility, which best became their respective positions.

The Dauphine took no pains to conceal the violence of her despair. She was in constant agitation, during the journey; she moved on, she stopped; she sat down by the side of the road; then got into her carriage, and again in a few minutes alighted, as if she found some relief in continued movement.

The very sight of the Commissioners was nauseous to her, the sound of their voice made her shudder. She avoided their presence with the greatest care, and never addressed a syllable to any of them. But M. de Schonen seemed to excite her strongest antipathy; she had never seen him previously but once at Tillieres; it was the day after the acquittal of the *Journal des debats*, when she said to him sternly at Court, "Pass on," making at the same time an angry motion with her fan. Alas! it was the dynasty that had passed, and the Journal that remained.

One day at Tillieres, the King having alighted at the post house to take some rest, enquired for M. de Schonen, who in his way to obey the summons, passed through the kitchen, where the Princesses were seated.

The Dauphine, at the first glimpse, turned her back, and gave a shriek; M. de Schonen made a low bow, and retired without saying a word.

On the very same day at Verneuil, she met him on the staircase, and exclaimed, "Always him! always! Oh, I shall choak!"

The Commissioners observing how painful their presence was to the Princess, studiously avoided every chance of meeting her. Doubtless they recalled to her mind that sad journey to Varennes, and other Commissioners, with Petion at their head, who had left an indellible impression on her youthful imagination. These however were men of a different stamp, who wished by every delicate attention to soften the rigorous fate of the Royal Family.

"You will not find a Hudson Lowe amongst us," said M. de Schonen to the Comte de Menars, but we must perform our duty."

On the following morning the Commissioners intimated to the King that the road lay through a country, which had suffered much by the late fires, and the inhabitants were in a state of considerable exasperation against the former government. This, it was known, had been one of the infamous measures put in execution by the designing men, who

wished to create discontent in the country. It was therefore deemed adviseable that the King should take every precaution, not to attract the attention of the peasantry, and with this view the servants were ordered to take off their laced liveries, and put on plain clothes, in which modest garb they completed the rest of the journey. Thus was Charles X. even while on the soil of France, gradually stripped feather by feather of all his royal plumage.

The King and his suite left Condé on the morning of the 11th, the diminished escort marched in close order to be prepared for a surprise. They passed by the magnificent estate of Thorigni, belonging to the Prince de Monaco, but no one appeared at the gate of the park, to pay a farewell homage to a fallen monarch, who in the days of his prosperity had been the object of so much obsequiousness. All *grands Seigneurs* are not Ducs de Noailles. Hitherto the populations had in general looked on at the royal retinue, as at a funeral procession in solemn silence; it was indeed the funeral of legitimacy destroyed by an act of suicide. Charles X. willing to put the most favourable construction on this reception, flattered himself that this silence

originated in sorrow and regrets. When asked by M. de Schonen at Vire, "how he felt."

"Tolerably well," said he, "as to health, but what gives me pain, is, to see the affliction of these poor people."

He saw indeed the tricoloured flags and cockades, his eye looked in vain for an uncovered head among the crowd of bystanders, but he let it be understood that he was not the dupe of these appearances, and was well aware of the artifices used by the police to repress the public feeling.

At Val de Vire, the family of Chenedolle, the poet, appeared at the side of the road, in deep mourning, men, women, children, and servants, all bearing bunches of lilies, which they respectfully threw into the window of the carriage.

At the first sight of that, which conveyed the Commissioners, drawn by four mules, they concluded it must be the carriage of the *Grand Aumonier*, and took off their hats, but when they saw the tricoloured cockade, they indignantly put on their hats, and turned their backs.

This innocent expression of royalism, was soon followed by one of a contrary nature, which threatened very serious consequences.

At Paris, the slowness of the King's progress created much uneasiness. It was suspected that he wished to throw himself into La Vendée, and a mere accident gave rise to the belief, that he had seized the persons of the Commissioners, in order to retain them as hostages. A dispatch which they wrote from Verneuil, had been put into the post without any direction, and of course was never delivered. Another, forwarded by a Courier, was delayed for thirty-six hours beyond the time. This produced alarm, and a body of national guards were sent under the orders of General Remond to take the royal troops in the rear, and intercept their march to La Vendée.

An order was also sent secretly to General Hulot from Paris, to excite a rising of the population in Normandy, and assemble them in front of the King's escort, with the view of intimidating him, and forcing him to hasten his movements.

The cabinet was not even consulted in this measure, it originated solely with those, who acted on their own responsibility, without even fore-warning the Commissioners, and the sequel proved that they overshot their mark and brought themselves into considerable trouble.

The King slept at St. Lo, on the 12th, meaning to proceed on the following day to Valognes, by the road through Carentan, a small town which is about half way distant from each. During the night, while all were at rest, the Commissioners were awoke by a messenger, who informed them, that an army of peasants and national guards, commanded by General Hulot was assembled between St. Lo and Carentan, with the intention of seizing the Royal Family, dismissing their escort, and conducting them at once to Cherbourg without further delay. There was no possibility of avoiding Carentan, it is, as it were a bridge, in the midst of the waters; being surrounded on all sides by small rivers, and impassable marshes; it is the key to the Cotentin, through which it is necessary to pass, in order to reach Cherbourg. The Commissioners feeling that M. de la Pommeraye, who was a native and constant inhabitant of Normandy, would have greater influence than them over the minds of his fellow countrymen, requested him to set off instantly with full powers to act as he thought fit in the business, while they would follow him shortly afterwards.

M. de la Pommeraye took post horses, and soon found himself in the presence of the

insurgents. It was a sort of levy *en masse*, composed of peasants and national guards from Cherbourg, Valognes, Bayeux and all the neighbouring districts. They appeared greatly excited. Pains had been taken to impress them with the idea, that the lives of the Commissioners were in danger, that the King had Swiss troops with him, that the gardes du corps harassed and plundered all within their reach, and a thousand other stories equally destitute of probability and of truth. Many of them fatigued with a long march, had intoxicated themselves with cider, which did not render them more open to conviction. As soon as they perceived the carriage of M. de la Pommeraye, they stopped it and hastily opened both the doors, in expectation of finding some courtier of Charles X., or perhaps even one of the Ministers. "Ah !" cried they surprised, "It is M. de la Pommeraye, M. de la Pommeraye for ever! M. de la Pommeraye for ever."

"My friends," said he, "show me the way immediately to General Hulot, at Carentan."

They shut the doors, and conducted the carriage to the General's house. The latter, as soon as the Commissioner entered, said to him, "M. de la Pommeraye, I guess the

object of your coming, but it is of no use, I have done what I could, but all is in vain."

M. de la Pommeraye replied, " I entreat of you to send for the superior officer of all these national guards."

The General did not exhibit any great readiness to comply with this request, he made some trifling excuse, at last when the officer appeared, the Commissioner said, " Order the call to be beat, that I may speak to your national guards." It rained in torrents. The Colonel alleged that the weather was dreadful, that his men had marched a long distance, some as much as thirteen leagues in the mud and rain; that they were tired and out of humour, and it would be no easy matter to induce them to assemble.

" It is not your advice that I ask, but an order which I give you," said M. de la Pommeraye, " execute it at once!"

The call was beat, a certain number of national guards assembled, notwithstanding the rain, M. de la Pommeraye harangued them in the public square, exposed to the wet like the rest.

" My good friends, I thank you much for your good intentions towards myself and my colleagues; but be assured, we have nothing

to fear, or require any protection; on the contrary, we are ourselves a safeguard to Charles X. If he were still powerful, and on the throne, I would be the first to place myself at your head, and fight against him; but he is unfortunate and dethroned, he is therefore entitled to respect, and as I am pledged to enforce it, I hope you will not prevent me from performing a serious and important duty. You must retire, comrades, I feel that it must be mortifying to you to retreat immediately during such weather, and after so fatiguing a march; but I do not mean that you should return home on foot; I will have all the waggons in the town and neighbourhood put in requisition, to convey you to your destination."

These words, spoken with a Norman accent; the confidence which most felt in the character of M. de la Pommeraye; and above all the promised offer of the waggons, determined by far the greatest number to comply with his wishes. M. de la Pommeraye ordered fresh horses to his carriage, and took the lead before them, to order relays of waggons for their use.

The three other Commissioners set out with the King for Carentan; observing that the

Duc de Raguse constantly rode by the side of the royal carriage, in full uniform, with the stars of his four orders, they thought this display might tend to aggravate still further the irritation of the populace, and requested him by way of precaution to attract less notice. He therefore only retained the decoration of the Holy Ghost. The most mutinous and determined of the patriots still remained after the departure of M. de la Pommeraye, perhaps also had been joined by fresh insurgents, as a large body was now assembled blocking up the road, and stopping the progress of every carriage, under pretence that it might contain M. de Polignac, or some other minister.

The Commissioners assured them, that no minister whatever formed part of the King's retinue, that they had only consented to escort him themselves on this condition, and that they had not even seen one at Rambouillet, or since, but they had a right to insist that the high road should be free to all travellers. Having called General Hulot aside, the Marshal gave him to understand, "That any attempt to carry off the Royal Family would produce the most serious consequences; that the military escort would defend them to the last; that a civil war would ensue; that

Normandy was close to Brittany, where the least spark of excitement would set the country in a blaze; and that one duty only remained to be performed by all, which was, to watch over the safety of the Princes, and provide for their speedy departure."

"Leave it all to us," added the others, "we need no assistance, you see how we have succeeded hitherto, any interference on your part will only occasion fresh difficulties."

The General was not very open to conviction, and yielded with considerable reluctance, but when he attempted to induce the peasantry to retire, they refused to listen to his suggestions.

"We are national guards," they said, "we are the proper escort for the Royal Family, we know nothing of these Commissioners, but we are intent on freeing France from the presence of Charles X. with as little delay as possible."

M. Odillon Barrot replied in a firm and manly tone, "You are indeed national guards, but only of Normandy, while I represent the national guard of Paris, who have fought and at the price of their blood have conquered and overthrown the Bourbons. They have acquired the right to dispose of their fate, and in placing them under our safeguard have render-

ed us responsible for their welfare. This is a duty, which we are determined to fulfil."

After much further discussion, they consented to allow the King and his retinue to proceed, but they refused to disperse till they were out of sight. They formed a line on each side of the road, and darted furious looks at the carriages as they passed. The King was troubled, but remained perfectly calm and composed. The Duc de Bordeaux and his sister, accustomed to see reviews and parades, innocently believed, that all these national guards were collected to show them honour, they smiled, and waved their little hands in token of gratitude, as they had been taught to do in more prosperous times. The Commissioners congratulated themselves on having previously diminished the royal escort, as a greater number of troops might in this conjuncture have augmented the public irritation, and produced a bloody contest. It was their object throughout by every manœuvre to prevent an appeal to arms.

There was still no end to the difficulties, which these ill judged and impatient orders from Paris had excited. The inhabitants of Carentan seduced by the insubordination of the national guards, refused to open their

gates to the King, unless he entered as a private individual, without his gardes du corps. Finding this proposal untenable, they demanded that the troops should wear the national colours. When the King heard this unreasonable stipulation, he said, "My guards can wear no other cockade than mine, and I will never adopt the tricoloured cockade. Tell them it is impossible."

At length the inhabitants gave way on the promise, that, as soon as Charles X. was embarked, his guard should take the national cockade.

The King made his entry into Carentan, where he merely remained during the short time necessary to bait the horses. An incident occurred here which is worth relating. A Captain de Busselot, Commandant of the place, went to pay his respects to the Royal Family. The Dauphin, recollected him as an attached adherent to the House of Bourbon; but alas! his fidelity had proved very unprofitable to him, as in the case of many others.

He had remained for many years exiled in one of the most insignificant commands in the kingdom, without ever being able to obtain the slightest promotion. He was a hard featured

man, marked with the small pox, and with various scars gained in battle, which gave to his countenance an air of great sternness.

The Dauphin addressed him in a very friendly manner, eulogising his bravery and constancy; the other replied with modesty and protestations of attachment, always keeping his hand on the cross of St. Louis, which hung at his button hole. Certain officers who surrounded the Prince, joined in the applause, adding that they had known M. de Busselot for many years, and had always felt the greatest respect for his character. On a sudden the Captain changed his tone, and in the accents of great indignation, said with a terrific voice, "You recollect me then, Gentlemen, in the hour of misfortune! Since you were not ignorant of my claims to the notice of the Dauphin, why did you constantly repulse me, whenever I presented myself at the Tuilleries to ask some reward for my services. Why could I never obtain from you the favor of an interview with the Prince." He continued in the same strain and finished by accusing the Courtiers of all the misfortunes which had just befallen the Royal Family. This scene was very painful to all present, but

M. de Busselot had the delicacy not to speak within hearing of the King.

After leaving Carentan the Princes met with a population very different from that which had infested the country they had lately passed.

A large body of peasantry, collected from all the villages in a circle of five leagues, awaited their arrival at Montebourg, to give them a most cordial reception. Their curiosity was blended with every sign of good will and respect, they pressed round the royal carriages, many of them shedding tears, and wished particularly to see, and touch the hands of the Due de Bordeaux. They cried out, "We have been told that we must not say, 'Long life to the Bourbons,' but we laugh at these threats, and therefore, 'Long life to the Bourbons,' 'Long life to the Due de Bordeaux.'"

This scene caused much gratification to the young Henri, and sensibly affected the Princesses. It is easy to solve the difficulty, why such different feelings existed in two populations, so nearly bordering on each other. That which assembled at Montebourg was composed of honest, unsophisticated villagers,

who had lived happy under the sway of the Bourbons, and had seen their property and their country prosper during the restoration; these felt anxious to show their gratitude to them in the hour of adversity. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Dreux, of Condé, of L'Aigle, and of St. Lo, equally happy in their circumstances, were substantial citizens, coffee-house politicians, reading daily five or six newspapers, which probably taught them, that in order to be good patriots, they should shew every respect to Princes, when they came surrounded by pomp and power, but should heap every insult upon them, when oppressed by the hand of misfortune.

The following questions were put by an absent friend to one of the faithful adherents of Charles X., who had followed him through this long and painful journey, and was well able to give a correct reply.

Without doubt the Princes found in the course of their route many attached servants, who came to express their gratitude for past benefits!

Not one!

Still were there none of those men, whom the Bourbons had loaded with honours,

whom they had made Ministers, Dukes, and Peers?

Not one!

What! none of those Peers, to whom the Bourbons hand given in hard money from their civil list, four hundred, five hundred thousand francs, to make them majorats for their children?

Not one!

Did you not see any of those plebeians, now Barons, or Viscounts, who had long solicited, and at length obtained from the King a feudal title, of which they are now so proud?

Not one! not even the men of letters, the artists, whom M. Sorthenes de Larochefoucauld had so lavishly recompensed from the civil lists, to whom the King had given crosses and pensions, ever came to express the slightest regret for his misfortunes. There were indeed a few officers, who formed an exception to the general degeneracy; among whom may be mentioned M. d'Argenton, and M. de Parfourrie, both knights of St. Louis, who dared to show their loyalty in the hour of distress, and offered to defend the Princes at the peril of their lives.

The King arrived to sleep at Valognes, on the evening of the 13th, having travelled fourteen leagues on that day. He wished to stay there the 14th, and 15th, saying that he did not choose to halt at Cherbourg, but would leave Valognes on the morning of the 16th, and embark immediately on his arrival at Cherbourg. It is probable that he either did not like to travel on the day of the Ascension, or that he had more reliance on the loyalty of the town of Valognes than on that of Cherbourg.

This interval was employed in making preparations for the final departure from France. The most affecting ceremony was the delivery by the guards of their standards to the King, in presence of the Royal Family.

A column of gardes du corps first entered the gates of the Hotel, marching four and four, with their officers and standards at their head, they were all in review order, and their accoutrements as well appointed, as if they had been paraded in the court of the Tuilleries. The twelve senior guards of each company, with all the officers, were commissioned to deliver the standards to his Majesty. The Duc de Luxembourg and the Prince de Croi marched at the head of the column, with the

cane of command in their hand. The standard of the Company de Croi was borne by M. Dumesnil, that of the Company de Grammont by M. de Brancion, that of the Company de Noailles, by M. de Chabrignac, that of the Company de Luxembourg, by M. de Seizé.

The coulmn moved silently up the great staircase, in the most regular order, no sound was heard but that of the heavy boots and spurs clanking on the stone steps. On arriving into the two great salons, hung with yellow, the first object which presented itself was the venerable figure of Charles X., holding the Duc de Bordeaux by the hand. The fallen Monarch had quitted his usual blue uniform, and wore a frock coat of the same colour, with metal buttons, and without either stars or decorations. The Dauphine stood on his right, and the Dauphin, the Duchess de Berri, and Mademoiselle were all near his person. Behind, were Marshal Marmont, the Baron de Damas, M. de la Rochejaquelen, Generals Gressot, Trogoff, &c.

The deputation of the gardes du corps did not pretend to address the Monarch with any of those inflated harangues, to which his ears had been so long inured. No sooner was that deputation in presence of the Royal Family,

than a dead silence ensued; all in the room seemed to hold their breath from fear of disturbing the solemnity of the scene. Suddenly sobs were heard, the ranks were broken, and each guard rushed forward to bedew the hands of the Princes with their tears.

"Allons, mes amis," said the King, "faudra-t-il que ce soit moi qui vous console!"

After this first burst of feeling, the guards returned to their ranks; each standard bearer advanced in his turn, and placed in the hands of the King the colours of his company. Charles X. then raising his voice, said, "Gentlemen, I receive back these standards, which you have preserved without stain, I hope that one day my grandson will have the happiness of restoring them to you."

The silk banners were detached from the staffs, rolled up, and placed on the following day in the private carriage of the King.

In the evening each garde du corps, was presented by order of his Majesty with a printed copy of the following order of the day.

"Gentlemen,

"You have just fulfilled with a zeal and devotion, beyond all praise, the

duty of faithful servants to the Prince, who had assembled you round his person. You have deserved every recompense which he could bestow upon you, and I hope you will find your reward.

"There is, Gentlemen, one, little valued by grovelling minds, but to us beyond all price; this recompense is ours, this recompense is obtained, and no power on earth can deprive us of the glory which attaches to it. I hope also that none can be so unjust as not to appreciate it.

"We must be happy in the consciousness of having performed our duty, and I, as your brother-in-arms, must always consider the toils I have endured with you, as the sweetest consolation of my future life.

"Le Capitaine des gardes de service,

"LE DUC DE LUXEMBOURG."

Valognes, August 14th, 1830.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

"The King, on quitting the French territory, would have wished to give to each individual of his gardes du corps, and to each of the officers, subalterns, and soldiers, who have followed him to the coast, a proof of his attach-

ment and recollection. But the circumstances which afflict the King, allow him no possibility of following the dictates of his heart. Deprived of all means of rewarding a fidelity so dear to his memory, his Majesty has ordered the lists to be made out of his companies of gardes du corps, of the officers of all ranks, subalterns, and soldiers, who have followed him. Their names preserved by M. Le Duc de Bordeaux, will be inscribed in the archives of the Royal Family, as a lasting monument of the misfortunes of the King, and of the consolation which he has derived from such disinterested zeal, and devotion.

"Valognes, August 15th, 1830.

"CHARLES."

Countersigned by the Major General,

Marechal Duc de Raguse,

By the King's command, Prince de Croi Solre.

The Duchesse de Berri was seated in her room with Madame de Damas, who had just arrived at Valognes; every thing as may be supposed was in great disorder, and a round table in the centre was covered with an infinity of parcels and objects, among which was placed very near the edge, a bag of money

untied. The Duchesse having risen from her seat to cross the room, by accident brushed with her dress the bag of money, which caused several five franc pieces to fall to the ground. Both stooped to pick them up, and the Duchesse said smiling, "We must not lose them, we have not too many. How much do you think, Madame de Damas, the united purses of the Royal Family would be able to muster?" Madame de Damas, making a guess, mentioned a sum of some hundred thousand francs; when the Duchesse de Berri added with a smile, "All we possess together is not quite forty thousand francs." It did not seem to give her Royal Highness the slightest anxiety. On their arrival at Cherbourg, the Princes found six hundred thousand francs, brought to them by General Girardin, which was an advance made to the King by the new government, on the sale of his woods, but under the condition that it should not be paid to him till the very moment of his embarkation. Such was the anxiety at Paris to see Charles X once out of the country.

The King wrote two autograph letters, one addressed to the King of England, the other to the Emperor of Austria, they were worded in a style of great simplicity, and expressed

no unavailing complaints against the dispensations of fate, or regrets for the past. In that to William IV. the King demanded a temporary asylum for himself and family ; he alluded to *les pauvres petits enfans*, thus banished from their native land, with a most affecting interest. General Kinzinger was chosen to convey this important missive to the Emperor, and General Auguste de Choiseul to his Britannic Majesty. It was arranged that the latter should precede the Royal Family, so as to arrive in London as soon as the Princes could reach the British shores, and a small sailing boat was secured at Cherbourg for that purpose.

This letter to his Britannic Majesty, sealed with black wax and the arms of France, was directed in the King's own hand. "*Au Roi d' Angleterre*," and delivered to M. de Choiseul who set out in an hour afterwards, and used so much diligence, that he arrived in London, and had fulfilled his mission to the King of England and the Duke of Wellington, on the day following the arrival of the Princes at the Isle of Wight.

As the moment was approaching when the King was to separate from the Commissioners, he expressed to them with more openness of

heart than usual, that he was not insensible to the attentions which they had shown him during the journey. He particularly thanked M. de la Pommeraye for the exertions which he had made to disperse the assemblage at Carentan.

M. Odillon Barrot then said, "That the Commissioners felt much flattered by this expression of his Majesty's satisfaction, and would be still more gratified by some written testimonial under his own hand, which they might carry back to the Government as a proof that they had fulfilled its wishes, and performed their own duties in a manner creditable to the national honour."

The King made no answer, and the subject was dropped, but on his bidding them farewell on board the ship, he proved that he had not forgotten it.

It was at this same moment, that Marshal Maison, encouraged by the apparent conciliatory vein of the King, said to him, "That he had thought, by accepting this painful mission, to give him one last proof of his devotion and gratitude."

"The less that is said upon that subject the better, Marshal," replied the King dryly, and turned his back upon him.

Charles X. questioned the Duc de Raguse as to his future projects. The Marshal replied, "That he should beg permission of his Majesty to embark with him; that when they arrived at the port where he meant to land, he would then take his leave, and seek out some asylum, where he might wait for a propitious moment to return to France. This plan met the entire approbation of the King.

The Duc de Raguse then went to the Commissioners, and said, "That having now fulfilled his arduous duty towards the King, and becoming master of his own actions from the moment that Charles X. should quit the soil of France, he had made up his mind to leave the country also, in order to avoid any unpleasant expression of the public animosity; that he begged them to recollect the motives which influenced his departure solely against his will, and that when the danger had subsided, he should be anxious to embrace the first opportunity of returning to his native land."

The King would have been contented now with a guard of honour of twenty-five gardes du corps, to attend him to Cherbourg; but the Commissioners themselves proposed as a recompense to the fidelity of these brave and

loyal men, that a deputation of twenty-five from each company, making in all one hundred should form the future escort. The King appeared gratified by this unexpected attention, and the Duc de Luxembourg approved the arrangement. But the gardes du corps themselves wished, one and all, to follow their master to the last, and as no one was inclined to thwart this parting token of their esteem and affection, the point was at once conceded.

Only the Commissioners stipulated, that instantly after the departure of the King, the guards should quit the white cockade, and return to their quarters, without alighting at Cherbourg, as they had positive information that there was no supply of forage in that town.

Thus the King was surrounded by his guards, even to Cherbourg; although he had bid them adieu at Valognes, and received their standards.

During the journey, those about the King had enquired how many persons he thought would probably accompany him out of France; his reply at first had been, two hundred, and preparations were made accordingly at Cherbourg. Further on, the King said that he should take with him one hundred and fifty,

then one hundred. The number was gradually diminished as they approached the coast, till at last, when arrived at Cherbourg, there were only ten individuals who in fact embarked with him.

The King at one time desired to go to Germany; with the view as was supposed, of claiming from Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the fulfilment of the treaty of Vienna. The government on the contrary urged his departure for America, but at last it was agreed simply to interdict his approach to the low countries, or the British Isles, which are close to the French coast.

On the morning of the 16th, the Royal Family quitted Valognes for Cherbourg, the hour of departure was calculated by that of the tide, in order that the King might, on alighting from his carriage, step on board the ship and set sail without delay.

The Princes took an affectionate leave of various faithful friends from whom they were soon to be separated, perhaps for ever. Amidst the general distress which this mournful ceremony had produced, the carriage of the King was seen from the windows of the hotel slowly advancing to the foot of the porch. Few, who had seen that brilliant equipage in

happier times, would have recognised it now in that battered, dusty coach, with the arms defaced, the panels scratched, and the shabby coachmen in common clothes, which now waited, like a gloomy hearse, to convey its master for the last time.

The horses formerly in such fine condition, and decorated with ribbons, were now rough, jaded, and dull, as if they shared the depression of their owner; three other carriages, in the same wretched plight, followed in procession, being those of the Dauphine, the Duchesse de Berri, and the rejected *Enfans de France*. It was a sight that would make the most light hearted meditate on the futility of human grandeur.

Some led horses were at the door, of which the Marshal Marmont mounted one; he was in a plain uniform without decorations, distinguished only by the plume of feathers in his hat, and his countenance appeared anxious and thoughtful. The rumour had been spread on the preceding evening that the populace at Cherbourg had expressed feelings of indignation against him, and menaced him with personal insult on his arrival; the King indeed had offered him a place in one of the carriages, but the Marshal declined it, and took his

usual post at the door of his Majesty's coach.

The King followed by his family slowly walked down the staircase, at the foot of which, he remarked M. Dumenildot, the proprietor of the hotel. "Ah, Sir," said he, "I have been looking for you for some time, I wished to express my thanks for the hospitality which I have received under your roof." His Majesty pressed the hand of M. Dumenildot in an affectionate manner, who received this mark of condescension with visible emotion. The Court-yard was filled with spectators, the windows and even roof of the hotel were crowded, while the gateway and adjoining street was so choked up with villagers of all ages and sexes, that no room was left for the line of march.

The step was let down, and the King entered his carriage, accompanied by the Dauphin and the Duc de Bordeaux; a deep silence prevailed, and the cavalcade with some difficulty made its way through the throng, taking the road to Cherbourg.

At the entrance of that town, the head of the column was suddenly stopped. The Prince de Solre, who was with the advanced guard, sent word that the populace was thickly

assembled on the road, and that a deputation of the national guard had just represented to him, that they could not answer for the consequences, if the royal party did not assume the tricoloured cockade. To stop so near the port was impossible. The Duc de Raguse ordered the gardes du corps to take close order, and gave the word to march. In a few minutes the whole escort was surrounded by a numerous and hostile crowd, thousands of voices repeated the cries of "*A bas la cocarde blanche! Vive la liberté!*"

In spite of these demonstrations, the carriages proceeded till they arrived at the gates of the harbour, when the 84th regiment of the line, which formed the garrison, interfered to prevent the mob from following the escort within the enclosure, the gates were then shut, and the embarkation took place without further accident.

The Moniteur of the 17th of August, contained eight royal ordinances signed by Louis Philippe. The first, grants the dignity of Marshal of France to Lieutenant General Count Gerard. The second, confirms General Lafayette in the post of Commandant General

of the National Guards of the Kingdom. The third, appoints M. Dupin sen. to be Procurer General of the Court of Cassation; the remaining ordinances contain a long list of appointments of Sub-Prefects, Mayors. &c.

The following have been sent on special missions to announce the change of government in France; General Baudrand to England, Baron Athalin to Russia, Count St Autain to Austria, and General Bellard to Prussia.

It is a remarkable fact that both Louis XVI. and Charles X. are descended from the Stuarts by the unfortunate Charles I. of England, who lost his head upon the scaffold; as may be seen by the following genealogical sketch.

Charles I. King of England.....Henrietta Maria of France daughter of Henri IV.

Henrietta of England.....Philip Duke of Orleans, Father of the Regent.

Anna Maria of Orleans.....Victor Amdeus II. King of Sardinia.

Maria Adelaide of Savoy.....The Duke of Burgundy grandson of Louis XIV.

Louis XV.

Louis of France Dauphin.

Louis XVI. Louis XVIII. and Charles X.

While the Dauphine was at Valognes, she received a letter from the Duchesse of Orleans at Paris, filled with the warmest expressions of attachment and devotion; as the character of that excellent woman is above all suspicion

of deceit, it may be inferred how much she was alarmed by the new dignity forced upon her; when, "She congratulated the Princess on being able to quit such a country as France, complains of her own lot in not being able to follow her; and repeats the assurance that her past kindness will always be remembered with the most lively gratitude." This letter was shown to many of the friends of the fallen family, and created a considerable sensation; but when the retired habits and domestic virtues of the Duchesse of Orleans are fairly considered, as well as the furious elements which were raging throughout the country, and were still pregnant with incalculable mischief, a timid woman and an affectionate parent might well tremble at the dangers by which she was surrounded. It was indeed a crown, but a crown of thorns.

When the government sent Commissioners to Rambouillet, with instructions to urge the speedy departure of the Royal Family from France; it became necessary to provide the means of their embarkation for a foreign land.

It was obvious that this commission could

only be entrusted to a naval officer, well affected to the new order of things, and as yet none of that profession had given in their adhesion. Captain Dumont d' Urville who had commanded the scientific expedition of the Astrolabe, happened at this moment to be in Paris, busied with compiling for publication the memoirs of his voyage. The three days interrupted his studies, he took an active part in the revolution of July, and after the termination of hostilities, seeing that the new government did nothing for the reorganization of the navy office, he called at the Palais Royal to offer his services to the Lieutenant General. He was not introduced to the Prince, but in two hours afterwards, he received the information that he was selected to convey the Royal Family to a foreign country ; for which purpose he was ordered to set out immediately for Havre, and freight two eligible transports. It was intimated to him at the same time, that his probable destination would be Naples. On his arrival at Havre, on the 4th, M. d' Urville in concert with the naval commissioner, hired two fine American packets, the Great Britain, Captain French, and the Charles Carroll, Captain Clarke, at the price of 50,000 francs for two months, and an addi-

tional 10,000 francs for every fortnight beyond that period. Having received orders to use the utmost dispatch, he set sail himself in the Charles Carroll that very evening, and was followed in a few hours by the other vessel.

On the 7th, M. d' Urville arrived at Cherbourg. He found there his instructions from Paris, directing him to convey the Royal Family wherever they pleased, except to the low countries, or to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

In case Charles X. should refuse to name any particular port where he wished to land, the Captain was ordered to conduct him to Portsmouth and disembark him there.

The King was expected at Cherbourg on the 13th, but as has been already mentioned, did not arrive till the 16th. This interval was employed by M. d' Urville, in provisioning the vessels, and in making every requisite arrangement for the comfort and accommodation of his royal passengers. But as he soon perceived that the officers of the port showed little readiness to second him in this expedition which seemed exclusively of a political nature; he requested the minister of the marine to send to him M. Lottin, an old friend, who had sailed with him during fifteen years, and who

enjoyed his utmost confidence. M. Lottin at that time was in Paris, occupied also in publishing the voyage of the Astrolabe; he lost no time in joining his companion.

They had both in 1814 served as officers on board the Ville de Marseille, on which ship the Duke of Orleans had embarked at Toulon, to fetch his family from Palermo; and having returned with them to France, were both personally known to his Royal Highness.

It was previously arranged that the King and the Royal Family should embark on board the Great Britain, with twenty persons of distinction and their servants; while the Charles Carroll was reserved for the rest of the Nobility and their suite. Two French vessels of war were ordered to accompany the American packets, the Pink La Seine of twenty-six guns, Captain Thibaut, and the cutter Le Rodeur, of six guns, Captain Quesnel. Captain Thibaut afterwards in 1831, conveyed to France from Rio Janiero the Empress of Brasil, wife of Don Pedro, and daughter of Prince Eugene de Beauharnais, it seems to have been his fate to escort dethroned sovereigns, which, if revolutions continue to follow each other as rapidly as they have done, will become no very remarkable distinction.

It was moreover decided that Captain d' Urville should embark with the King on board the Great Britain, and take the command of this little squadron ; the two ships of war were destined to keep the Americans in awe, and prevent their sailing to any of the prohibited ports. M. d' Urville wished to have fifty marines on board, to lend him assistance in case of need, but Charles X. absolutely refused to permit it, declaring that in such a case, he would not set his foot on board. A steam boat was in readiness to tow the vessels out of the harbour into the road.

Charles X. arrived, and the difficulty which had been apprehended, was soon realized. That Prince seemed little inclined to declare the point where he would land, and the Captain could only learn from some of the suite, his intention to stop at Spithead, and there make his definitive decision. M. d' Urville announced to the Commissioners, that in conformity with his instructions, if they could not induce the King to be more explicit, he should be under the necessity of making sail back to France, as soon as Charles X. had quitted his ship. They modified the question, by authorizing him to consider the roadsted of Spithead merely as a resting place,

where he might receive orders for his final destination.

Another important point remained to be settled, and the Commandant, after a consultation with the Commissioners, issued the following written order to the Captain of La Seine.

" A red flag hoisted at the mast head of the Great Britain, is to be the signal that violence has been offered to Captain d' Urville, with the intent to make him take a forbidden course; in that case Captain Thibaut is required to fire a few shots in the air by way of warning. If this menace does not succeed, and the Captain should observe the topsail of the Great Britain to be suddenly lowered, he is then to approach, and cannonade the vessel in good earnest, till she alters her course again." It may be presumed that Captain d' Urville had given strict orders to M. Lottin, to make the aforesaid signals at the first hint of any insubordination.

Captain Thibaut professed his implicit obedience, in the most energetic manner. " By —— " said he, " there shall be no joking I assure you, I will send you to the bottom. *Mille tonnerres de Dieu !*"

"It is perfectly understood," replied M. d' Urville.

The King had already declared that if he saw a single tricoloured cockade on board the vessel, no force should induce him to sail in it. Captain d' Urville and the few French officers and sailors with him took off their uniforms and appeared in plain clothes. The Great Britain and the Charles Carroll, bore the American colours, and the crews their own national cockade.

On the 16th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the retinue of the King, which had passed through Cherbourg without stopping, arrived on the pier opposite to the two ships. The harbour was crowded with vessels dressed in the three colours, and the same emblems appeared at many windows in the town. The quays, the ramparts. and the neighbouring buildings were covered with an immense crowd, agitated no doubt with various conflicting feelings, but maintaining a calm and silent attitude. It was more the curiosity to witness an extraordinary sight, than any political sentiment which seemed to predominate; all were aware that the revolution was achieved, and that the departure of the King

was a natural consequence of that event. The gardes du corps ranged in a line on each side formed a passage from the carriage, which contained the Royal Family. The King and the Dauphin had quitted their uniforms, and every other distinction of their rank. His Majesty wore a blue frock coat, without any orders, blue pantaloons and a white hat.

In spite of his melancholy he looked well, a high bred air was evident in his whole demeanour, and this simple attire, only rendered the elegance of his manners more conspicuous.

The Dauphin was dressed in black, with a white hat, and hessian boots. Madame la Dauphine was attired with the utmost simplicity. The Duchesse de Berri wore a blouse of carmelite brown, a cap, and upon it a man's hat. The Duc de Bordeaux was in a light blue jacket, white trowsers and hat. The young Princess in a plain cotton gown.

As soon as the coach door was opened, the Baron de Damas hastily took the Duc de Bordeaux in his arms, and carried him on board with such apparent anxiety, that one of the Commissioners could not refrain from saying to him, "Be under no alarm, Sir, no harm can happen to the Prince." But the

Governor only wished to render a painful moment as short as possible to his pupil. The rest of the Royal Family alighted from the carriage, and went on board the Great Britain. Both the King and the Dauphin seemed overcome with grief, the tears fell down their cheeks, which they vainly strove to conceal, those belonging to their suite seemed lost in consternation, the servants wept aloud. A few royalists in the crowd observed this affecting scene with eyes of compassion, and testified by their looks, how sincerely they partook in the feelings of their unfortunate sovereign.

When all were embarked, the King remained standing on deck near the hatchway leading to his cabin, and received the last adieux of several gardes du corps who approached successively, one after the other, to kiss his hand. The Duchesse de Berri presented her son to them in an affecting, and significant manner. As it was nearly half low water, all the spectators on the quay were elevated above the ship; they were enabled to command a view of every thing that passed below them on the deck, so that not the slightest action or movement of the royal party could escape the observation of the curious.

It was mentioned in the instructions to the Commissioners, that the Marshal Maison should also embark on the Great Britain, but as all idea of danger vanished when Charles X. was on the high seas; and as that monarch had declared his resolution not to suffer the national colours in his sight, a condition to which no Marshal of France could subscribe without compromising his own dignity and the national honour, it was agreed that this part of the instructions should be waived.

The principal personages on board this vessel were the Duchesse de Gontaut, the Ducs de Luxembourg, and de Raguse, the Marquis de Choiseul, the Comte d' O'Haggerty, the Baron de Damas, Mademoiselle Vachon, M. M. de Barbancois, Bougon, Bourlet de St. Aubin, de la Vilatte, and the Abbe Bourdeville.

The King called for the Commissioners in order to take his leave of them; the Dauphine thanked them coldly, but showed more than usual affability to M. de Schonen, probably to make amends for past incivility on the journey. The Dauphin made only a slight inclination of the head. The Duchesse de Berri was more warm in her thanks. The King was then, as he had been throughout, calm and noble. He expressed himself with that politeness and

good taste which in him was a second nature; he owned his obligations to the Commissioners for all the attentions which they had shown to his ease and comfort; he then took from his pocket a paper, which he presented to them, it was a memorandum written in his own hand, and to this effect. "I am happy to do justice to the Commissioners, in the manner they wished. I have had every reason to be pleased with their attentions and respect for me and my family.

(Signed,) "CHARLES."

"To M. M. Le Marechal Maison, de Schonen, Odillon Barrot, A. de la Pommeraye."

He talked with them some time about his private affairs, his servants, and his creditors. He seemed very anxious about his debts. "You know," said he, "that I must have creditors, and I hope your government will not refuse to acknowledge their claims. It is a charge on the Civil List; besides, I leave wherewithal to pay them. The money of the Dey of Algiers belongs to me by right of conquest, it ought to be employed in satisfying these demands."

The Commissioners, who to the last moment where unceasing in their demonstrations of

respect, merely replied, " Sire, it is a subject which shall be examined."

It has been stated that M. de Girardin had brought to Cherbourg for the King's use a sum of 600,000 francs, advanced by the government on the security of his personal property; this sum was now placed by the Commissioners at his disposal, and the King desired that it might be paid one half in French gold, the other half in piasters.

When the money had been placed in his cabin, he said to the Commissioners, " I will give you a receipt, and an order on my man of business at Paris, who will repay the amount."

" Sire," they replied, " we are not to ask you for a receipt or an order on Paris." The King insisted, the others refused.

" After all," said his Majesty, " I have only one wish; not to be a burthen upon France, or any other power."

" Sire, France will never permit that he, who has once reigned over her, should remain at a charge to any foreign power." The government considered this sum merely in the light of an advance.

The Dauphine transmitted to M. Odillon

Barrot a blank power for her man of business in Paris.

During the journey the King had requested the Commissioners to demand, on his behalf, of the government, that he might have the enjoyment of his private property. To this request the Minister of the Interior had replied to M. de Schonen in the affirmative; and this latter gave the letter to the King, who kept it as a sort of title. But at the moment of departure M. de Schonen demanded it back of his Majesty, who, after searching in his pocket, restored it to him.

The Duchesse de Berri received a letter from the Queen, in which it was mentioned that a safeguard had been sent to protect Rosny.

" Ah," said she to a lady of her suite, " they are very careful of our rags, and they take the crown from my son."

At three o'clock the signal for departure was given, the sails were set, and the Great Britain began her course so rapidly, that in passing by the steam boat, she broke one of the paddles, the wind was fair and she was soon clear of the harbour, and under weigh.

The King in giving his directions to M. d' Urville, said, " I wish to make first for Spit-

head, then to anchor before Cowes, not at St. Helens, but before Cowes."

As soon as the Commissioners had seen the ship depart, they retired from the harbour to draw up a *proces verbal* of the event, and dispatch an express to government with the news. The officers and soldiers immediately quitted the white cockade.

As the Commissioners were occupied in writing their dispatches, Colonel Lafosse, who had accompanied M. de la Pommeraye, burst into the room with the astounding intelligence that the King's ship had veered round, and was steering back into the harbour. It would be difficult to paint the agitation which this news produced, every conjecture was at work, the most natural conclusion was, that the King had changed his mind, and that a fresh disturbance would be the result of his return. It was difficult to account for the compliance of Captain d' Urville under such circumstances, and this state of anxiety had already lasted some time, when the maritime Prefect entered laughing, and relieved their apprehensions by explaining the circumstance.

M. d' Urville had stored the vessel with provisions for four months, in order that the King might have the power of extending his voyage,

if he wished, to a more distant land. There were supplies of every luxury for the royal table—poultry, truffles, hams, champagne and other wines of the best description; but they had no sooner quitted the harbour, and got into the road with a fair wind, and the sails set, when information was brought to the Captain that the necessary article of bread had been forgotten, and to render the misfortune complete, the baker in the hurry had been left behind. Here was a whole ship's company on the first day of their voyage without bread. There were truffles and champagne in plenty but no bread! The despairing news flew through the ship at once, the children instantly began to be hungry, Princes, Princesses, all began with one accord to vociferate, "What! Captain, have we no bread? Is it true, Captain, that we must sit down to dinner without bread?" And the children began to cry, thinking that they must inevitably be starved.

The Captain, as may be supposed, was shocked at the oversight, he could not think of forcing the Royal Family to eat hard biscuit, while within sight of the coast of France, he therefore slackened sail, tacked about, and made again for the harbour, send-

ing the pinnace back to Cherbourg for the baker, and a supply of bread.

An hour sufficed to rectify the mistake, the boat returned to the Great Britain, with the missing aliment, and the arrival of a few loaves of bread imparted a real feeling of satisfaction to that family, which only a few days before knew not what it was to have the slightest wish ungratified.

As they passed before the Bason d' Artois, the Dauphine said to M. d' Urville, " It is now two years ago that the waters were let in, while I was present." She looked about for a ship of the line, and asked " if it was not the Duc de Bordeaux ?"

" Yes, Madame, but since yesterday it has been named the Friedland!"

When the Dauphin on deck observed the Pink la Seine, with the tricoloured flag, following in the track of the Great Britain, he asked M. d' Urville where that vessel was going? and on hearing that it was to bear them company during the voyage, he went and apprised the King.

His Majesty, evidently annoyed, came and repeated the question, saying, " Is it true, Captain that this vessel is going with us ?"

" Yes, Sire, the Seine will escort us to our

final destination, and the Rodeur will go as far as Spithead."

"Indeed! this is very surprising and by no means corresponds with the promise made to me, that I should have only the two Americans."

"It is very true, Sire, that such were the original instructions, and it was only last night that fresh orders arrived from Paris, that the ships of war should be added to the escort."

"It is very singular," added the King but he made no further comment, though it was easy to perceive that this circumstance gave great uneasiness to both the King and the Royal Family. Perhaps it created in their minds apprehensions of transportation or even worse; be that as it may, they showed no symptoms of mistrust towards the Captain, and endeavoured to conceal their disgust at this breach of faith in the government.

As they were leaning on the rail and surveying the ocean, the Captain observed with admiration the beautiful shape of the Charles Carroll. "It is a fine vessel, Captain," said the King, "is it not?"

"Yes, Sire, a very fine vessel, well equipped and appears a fast sailer."

"Have we not as fine vessels in our navy."

"Amongst our merchantmen, I have never seen any so well constructed, so well equipped, and so richly fitted up."

"The Americans are in a prosperous way."

"Without doubt, Sire, and if they would continue for fifty or sixty years more to preserve their present system of simplicity, wisdom, and economy, they will not only become a very powerful nation, but may perhaps dispute the empire of the seas with the English."

"It is however to us that they are indebted for these advantages."

"True, Sire, it is to your brother Louis XVI. that they partly owe their present prosperity, and they have never forgotten the assistance which was lent by France at the period of their emancipation. It was one of the most glorious circumstances in the reign of Louis XVI."

The Captain thought he was saying something agreeable to the King, when without paying any attention to the compliment, Charles X. said with considerable emotion, "It was a fault, a very great fault in Louis XVI." he then added with a deep sigh, "but where is the man who does not make faults

in the course of his life ?" M. d' Urville retired.

The motion of the ship soon produced its natural consequences, and the passengers were affected with sea sickness; the Duchesse de Berri, who suffered martyrdom, but struggled with great energy to combat the malady, observed to M. d' Urville, that she was not formed to make a good sailor.

" Madame," said he, " with the courage and heroism which you possess, you would soon overcome that difficulty."

On hearing which remark, Madame de Gontaut, who was reclining on a bed, and suffering from the same cause, said with a certain degree of acrimony,—

" Sir, you should never flatter princes, it is their ruin."

The Captain rather surprised to be called a flatterer, saw that this rebuke was addressed to other flatteries of a less innocent nature.

On Tuesday the 17th the Princesses rose at four in the morning, and appeared on deck, they were soon joined by the Princes and the children.—The King seemed quite astonished to see his family risen at that early hour. The

Duchesse de Berri sat down, and wove garters for the children, she retained a perfect recollection of the Rodeur cutter, which on the preceding year had been stationed off the coast, during her stay at Dieppe, to serve for short maritime excursions; and she mentioned with pleasure the name of Captain Quesnel.

M. de la Vilatte, first valet de chambre of the Duc de Bordeaux, said to him, "Monseigneur, when you return to your fine palace at the Tuilleries, you will not forget this voyage by sea."

At length the Isle of Wight appeared in view, with its fresh and verdant meadows, spotted with country houses, its green hills and dales, which the hand of nature had laid out so well to diversify the lovely scene. The Royal Family were singularly struck with the beauty of the prospect. "Ah!" said the Duchesse de Berri, with a sigh, "that is not to be compared to our belle France."

The Princesses, the ladies, the children, all felt as great an impatience to reach the land, as if they had sailed round the world; their enquiries were repeated every instant, how soon they should go on shore.

"In three hours, in two hours," said the

Captain, as they advanced on their course, till at two o'clock in the afternoon they dropped anchor in front of Portsmouth, after a passage of twenty-four hours.

A boat put off instantly from the shore, laden with eatables, for the supply of the ship. The Duchesse de Berri ran strait to the ladder on the larboard side, and returned with a large piece of Cheshire cheese, which she exhibited in triumph to the Captain.

"That is good for nothing," said M. d' Urville, it smells shockingly bad."

"Oh, fie," said the King, "how can you take such a thing in your hand."

"It is excellent," replied the Princess; and then she bought a quantity of gingerbread for the children, who ate it with avidity, as if they had had nothing for a fortnight. The Duchesse also seemed to relish it heartily.

In a short time afterwards, the two Princesses, and their ladies, with their bundles in their hands, advanced to the ladder, "Captain, we are going to land, is it not so ?"

"But ladies, we are only at Portsmouth, we are not yet arrived at Cowes, it is only at Cowes that we are to disembark."

"Oh! how is this, we are not to land yet; how far then is it to Cowes."

"We are still at some distance, but with a little patience we shall soon arrive."

The King and the Dauphin received visits from several English officers of various ranks; they remained standing near the ladder, and conversed with them for whole hours. Charles X. was anxious to inform them, that this was the reward he had met for his efforts to render France happy; that he had wished to try the last means in his power to reestablish order and tranquillity; but a factious spirit in the country had forced him to abdicate, and he could only hope for better times to favor the claims of his grandson.

The English listened with gravity, but had little to say in reply.

The Commander-in-chief at Portsmouth arrived to pay his respects, and make a tender of his services. With his permission the King immediately dispatched the Duc de Luxembourg and M. Bourlet St. Aubin to London, on private business; the official communications were entrusted to the Marquis de Choiseul. The cutter le Rodeur was now sent back to Cherbourg to announce the arrival of Charles X. in an English port; which intelligence was thence forwarded by telegraph to Paris.

Captain d' Urville anxious to consult the wishes of the Princesses, directed M. Vandenberg, the French Consul, to procure a steamer for the purpose of towing the Great Britain up to Cowes, and the ladies seemed very sensible of this obliging attention. "It is very gallant of you Captain," said the Dauphine; the children jumped for joy, and the Princes themselves thanked M. d' Urville.

M. Vandenberg told the Captain, that *he* would be very well received at Portsmouth if he chose to land, that the people were quite in favor of the Revolution of July, and that the government was under the necessity of yielding to this impulse. Considerable animosity was shown by the populace against Charles X.

The steamer did not make its appearance till eight o'clock in the evening, to the great regret of the Captain, who witnessed the impatience of the Princesses. No time was lost in weighing anchor, which still met with some unexpected difficulty; and it was not till nine o'clock that the Great Britain started for Cowes. In an hour and a quarter from that time the little convoy entered the bay which washes the town.

The ladies immediately went on shore with the children, the King and the Dauphin re-

mained on board, as the orders to the Commissioners only permitted one resting place, which was Portsmouth, and if the Princes had quitted the Great Britain at Cowes, M. d Urville must of necessity have returned to France.

On Tuesday the 18th, the Duc de Raguse, previous to quitting the ship, had a long conversation with M. d' Urville. "He complained bitterly of his hard fate which had compelled him to take up arms for a cause so foreign to his feelings. He had no intimation of his appointment to command the forces till eight o'clock on Tuesday 27th of July and during the first twenty-four hours, he had hoped that the insurrection would be easily put down; that he should be able to bring the Princes in triumph to Paris; and by thus gaining an influence over their minds, persuade them to adopt in future a mode of government more conformable to the spirit of the times." Then showing the Captain several little leather boxes placed near the steerage, he added, "All these are filled with my own manuscripts, from which I mean to compile my Memoirs; this will be my most agreeable occupation during my retirement." On taking leave of the Royal Family, he kissed the King's hand

with great tokens of affection, who embraced him in return; the Dauphin offered him his hand, but their parting was of a colder nature.

Admiral Foley, a venerable old man with white hairs, who commanded the English fleet at Portsmouth, and the Marquis of Anglesea, a British Peer, and late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, came to pay their visit to Charles X. Lord Anglesea had lost a leg at Waterloo, which seemed to ingratiate him very much with his Majesty, who derived great satisfaction from this interview with his noble guests.

On Thursday the 19th, Charles X. put several questions to the Captain concerning the voyage of the Astrolabe, which he concluded by saying, "Why were you never presented to me?"

"Apparently, Sire, on account of my opinions."

"Were you then disaffected to us?"

"Excuse me, merely as head of the state, but by no means to your family."

"Why then did you undertake this mission?"

"I was the only one within reach, and I did not feel justified in declining it, because it was repugnant to my feelings."

"Aye, it was indeed a melancholy task."

"At present I have a double satisfaction in having accepted it, if I may flatter myself that, without having deviated from my principles or my duty, I have fulfilled it to your entire approbation and comfort."

"Without a doubt I and my family shall always feel grateful for the delicate attentions which you have shown to us. But what were you doing at Paris?"

"I was at work on the publication of my voyage."

"You were then present at the insurrection?"

"Certainly, Sire, nay more, I witnessed much of the contest," (the King frowned,) "but I did not take part myself as a combatant," (the King resumed his composure,) "because I conceived it was contrary to my duty as a public functionary, so long as your government was acknowledged, but I felt really interested in the success of the people," (here the King's features became again overclouded.)

This profession of faith was not much to his taste. He heaved a deep sigh, and said, "The ordinances were merely a pretext; the plan was already arranged, and the 17th of Sep-

tember had been fixed for the overthrow of the monarchy."

"I cannot believe, Sire, that the events of July were the result of a conspiracy."

"Oh it had been brewing for a long time."

"But in that case, who do you suppose was the chief?"

"It is easy to explain at present; he who gained by the rebellion."

"What the Duke of Orleans! I assure you that those who really made the revolution of July, little thought of putting the Duke of Orleans in your place. They first cried, '*Vive la Charte!*' then '*Vive la liberté!*' '*Vive la Republique!*' '*Vive Napoleon II.!*' but not a voice cried out, '*Vive le Duc d' Orleans!*'"

"Besides," said the King, "I know the Duke of Orleans, he will not be able to get through the difficulties, he has not the requisite means, the French are in fact ungovernable."

Notwithstanding all the arguments and protestations of M. d' Urville to the contrary, Charles X. would persist in his belief that the revolution had been long organised, that it was to have broke out on the 17th of September, and that it was instigated by the Duke of Orleans.

"You are then a liberal!" exclaimed the Dauphin.

"Certainly, Sir, and I am proud of the appellation."

"Ah! true, you are a *savant*, all the *savants* are liberals. So then you are going to take the oath to the Duke of Orleans?"

"It will, I suppose, be necessary, if such vain forms are continued."

"In truth I admire the facility with which the French take oaths."

"Those whom you call rebels to-day, are they alone to be accused of breaking oaths?"

"Ah! I see you want to return to the ordinances, but recollect that Article 14. gave to the King full power to issue them."

"That depends upon the way in which you read it."

"Ah, liberal, liberal!"

M. d' Urville sometimes requested the King, to give him a hint, if he at any moment exceeded the bounds of propriety in his observations. The King always replied, that he felt not in the least hurt, that on the contrary he was much pleased with his frankness, though he by no means agreed with him in opinion. He was in fact much more affable and communicative with the Captain, than he had ever

been with the Commissioners, from the feeling no doubt, that as he had quitted the soil of France, and laid aside the ensigns of royalty, it was no longer necessary to adhere to the forms. Perhaps also the sight of the tri-coloured scarfs worn by the Commissioners, and the idea of being protected by them in his own kingdom, encreased the coolness, which he was naturally disposed to feel towards them.

A number of English came on board from curiosity to behold the fallen Princes, and the American sailors availed themselves of the intrusion to put money in their pockets. Some of these visitors had the bad taste to push forward and stare at the Princes, without saying a word, or showing any signs of delicacy or respect. M. d' Urville had not dared to give a general prohibition of these visits, lest it might give a handle to suppose that the Royal Family were considered as prisoners, but when he saw that the King himself was annoyed by this breach of good manners, and wished it to cease, he readily gave the order to stop farther admissions.

Another visit was shortly announced of a more agreeable description.—A boat conveyed on board the Cardinal de Latil and M. d' Haussez.

The English papers had stated that M. de Latil had disguised himself in women's clothes to favour his escape from Calais to Dover: when his arrival was told to the Dauphin, the latter exclaimed—"Ah, Latil! is he still in his disguise?" Both he and the King received M. d' Haussez with due politeness, but the Cardinal with great tenderness. They took him aside into a corner, and entered into a deep conversation with him, which lasted one hour and a half. M. d' Haussez remained on the deck, surrounded by the crew, and apparently not much at his ease; at last observing M. d' Urville, he said, "How are you, my dear Captain, I am delighted to see you."

"And I not less," replied the other, "because, though we are enlisted under different banners, you are a person whom I must always sincerely regard; I have not forgotten all the interest which you took in the Astrolabe, and I feel convinced that without your assistance the publication of that voyage would never have taken place."

They entered into a long conversation on various subjects; M. d' Haussez having been Minister of the Marine, was supposed to understand the subject, they therefore discussed

the navy, then the late government, then politics. M. d' Haussez espoused the opinion of the King, that a conspiracy had long existed, which was to break out on the 17th of September. He asserted that the Ministers knew the names of the conspirators, and would one day make them public. The Dauphin suddenly came up and said with a smile, "The French have often complained that their Ministers of the Marine were not practical sailors, they ought now to be perfectly satisfied, as here is not only their Minister of the Marine, but also their High Admiral on the sea."

"It is true," said M. d' Urville, "but your Royal Highness will allow, that it required an event like this, to make you undertake a naval cruise."

The Dauphin often joked and laughed, one day he took Lieutenant Lottin by the button, and said to him, "I appear to be very gay, don't I? but you must not judge by appearances."

Some one who came on board mentioned that the strong demonstration of public feeling in England would prevent the King and his Ministers from entertaining the proposals made by Charles X. And when it was reported

that William IV. was coming from Brighton to Portsmouth, to witness a meeting of the Yacht club, the fallen King remarked with some acrimony, " Be assured that he will not come, at least as long as I am here."

On one occasion the conversation turned on General Lafayette, as the King had expressed himself with some violence on the disloyalty of certain characters, who had been his most obsequious courtiers, and were now fawning at the feet of Louis Philippe, the Captain said to him, " At least, Sire, you will allow, that there is a man to whom that reproach cannot be applied."

" He is an old stager," replied the King, " he wants to be King of the mob, and he will never be good for any thing. They will make use of him, and then leave him in the lurch. Still one should never have said that of him in his youth, he promised better things, but he has since turned out very ill."

" You knew him then, Sire, well, when he was young."

" Certainly. We did our gymnastics together, he was always awkward and ungain in his exercises, but he was mild and good-natured, he used to amuse us all. Ah! we

never could have thought that he would turn out so ill."

The Dauphin said to M. d' Urville, "Well Captain, when we return to France, you will come to see us?"

"Not such a fool, Monseigneur."

"Why so?"

"Should I be very safe?" (at the same time M. d' Urville drew his hand across his throat, making a sign that it would be cut.)

"How could you have such an idea?"

"I know very well that neither the King nor yourself would wish to have me killed, but those who surrounded you would end by persuading you, that such a sacrifice was indispensable for the sake of example; after all I would not run the risk."

"You would do wrong."

"Possibly, but at any rate I should wait till you sent for me, and would keep at a prudent distance."

"And you would do very wrong; we shall never forget your obliging conduct, in spite of your liberalism."

As Charles X. had announced his intention of taking up his residence in England, M. M. de Luxembourg and O'Haggerty made known

to Captain d' Urville, that the Royal Family were left totally unprovided with table-linen and other supplies of that nature. As that on board the vessel had been provided solely for their use, and could be no ways serviceable in the navy, the Captain consented to leave it at their disposal, on receiving a formal receipt for the same. This act of courtesy was acknowledged with much gratitude by his Majesty.

Saturday, the 21st.—As the title of King was no longer reconcileable with present circumstances, Charles X. took the name of Comte de Ponthieu, the Dauphin and the Dauphine that of Comte and Comtesse de la Marne.—A steam boat came to fetch a part of the Royal baggage, and another on the following day to take the remainder, and the carriages; as the period of disembarkation was drawing nigh.

Sunday, the 22nd.—This day was also spent in long discussions on the state of politics, always inpressed with the same convictions of latent conspiracies, and the ultimate triumph of legitimacy in France. At eight in the evening, when on the point of retiring, Charles X. told M. d' Urville, that it was his intention not to remain in England for any length of time; that as soon as the affairs of Europe wore a calmer aspect, his project was to fix his re-

sidence in the south of Europe, either at Venice or at Milan. Then warmly pressing both hands of the Captain, hs added with considerable emotion,—" My dear Sir, I feel great satisfaction in repeating to you before we part, the deep sense I entertain of all your kindness and attention to me and mine, under our present melancholy circumstances."

" Sire," replied the other, " all that I have done, was simply an act of duty; and were it not so, the mere reflection that you were in distress, would have sufficed to render you, and every person of your family, an object of the deepest interest in my eyes."

" I believe you sincerely, as it is impossible to have fulfilled such an unpleasant mission with more honour and delicacy than you have done. I am happy to have made your acquaintance; I trust that it is not for the last time, and that we may one day meet again under happier auspices."

" I know not, Sire, to what you may allude by expressing such a wish; if you imagine that my wandering profession may some day conduct me to the land which you may inhabit, there is no doubt that I should feel the highest gratification in the honour of paying my respects to you; I may take the liberty also of

adding, that your extreme affability and simplicity of manner during our late intercourse, so much beyond any thing which I could have a right to expect, has bound me to you by ties which can never be forgotten. In any other way I do not see how it is probable that we can ever meet again."

"But, my dear Sir, France cannot remain in her present state: the day will come when her eyes will be opened, and she will call on the little Bordeaux as her legitimate sovereign; then I trust you will be on our side, and then indeed we shall meet again."

"All this is certainly within the bounds of possibility; but it can only come to pass after great misfortunes. Should the Duke of Orleans prove deaf to the real wishes of France, and misunderstanding the source from whence he derives his power, refuse to shape his course in unison with public opinion; should he be led away by the pernicious counsels of men, who are blinded by ambition and interested motives; if, I say, this Prince, instead of correcting and rooting out all the abuses of the late administration, still lingers and grovels in the baneful course, which has been maintained for the last twenty-five or thirty years, he will gradually lose the esteem and confidence of all

true Frenchmen: they will regret the facility with which they raised him to the throne; and the partisans of a republic, who are already numerous, will take advantage of these errors, to overturn his throne, and substitute their own system in its place. Now, although I do not imagine that France, in her present enlightened state, can ever again be exposed to those horrors, which disgraced her Revolution in 1793, yet still I have great doubts whether a republic could long subsist with a nation so fickle and versatile in her projects and opinions. The transition then might be very quick to anarchy and civil war. In such a case, no doubt your grandson, put forward by a party devoted to his pretensions in the heart of the country, and supported by a million of foreign bayonets from abroad, might one day be placed on that throne which you have now been obliged to abdicate. But I assure you, that I deprecate such an event from the very bottom of my heart. If indeed we are reserved for such a sad contingency, we must receive it as a dispensation, but as a dispensation the most inimical and fatal to our liberties."

"Ah, my good Sir, you speak like a liberal but you will change your ideas. Besides,

(pressing his hand,) rest assured of one thing, never will my grandson return to France, supported by foreign bayonets; he will be recalled by the voice of Frenchmen alone, or else he will remain in perpetual exile. This I can protest to you with the greatest sincerity."

"May your assertions be amply fulfilled, may you always remain true to the same honourable feelings. It is all that I can ever wish for the welfare of my country."

Thus ended the dialogue, and the King retired to his own cabin; on the following morning he was to set out for Weymouth with his whole family. During the seven days passed on board the Great Britain, it was impossible to see anything more simple, more accommodating and more universally kind than the conduct of Charles X. The Dauphin always treated him with the most profound respect, never spoke to him but uncovered, and in the attitude not only of a dutiful son, but almost of an intimidated child. He generally said in speaking of the King, "My father," sometimes even "Papa." All the family seemed to emulate each other in tokens of respectful attention and tenderness to their illustrious Chief. The Dauphin and the Dau-

phine were patterns of conjugal affection, they lived together on terms of the greatest harmony and intimacy.

Every day at ten o'clock the King heard Mass in his own room without ceremony. On Sundays it was celebrated with more solemnity.

Monday 23rd.—Preparations were made for the departure. The Duc de Bordeaux and his sister were on deck at an early hour. M. de la Vilatte, first Valet de Chambre of the young Prince, spoke of his good qualities with great enthusiasm to the Captain,—"Yes," said M. d' Urville, "he has very good natural abilities, he should be sent to college."

"I don't think he will ever be placed there," said M. de la Vilatte, very much shocked, "it is not exactly the received custom to send the children of France to college."

"So much the worse, it is the only means of partially withdrawing that veil from their eyes, which is doomed to conceal the truth from them during their whole lives."

M. de la Vilatte looked very much displeased.

When any person comes on board it is the custom to throw to him ropes, which assist him in climbing up the ladder; this office is con-

sidered rather of a humiliating nature; the sailors are obliged to perform it for the officers, but they on their part never do it for others. When M. Vanderberg was mounting into the ship, the King who was standing by, threw him the ropes, upon which the Dauphin rushed forward to save his father the trouble. M. Vanderberg was so shocked that he could hardly find words to make his excuses. M. d' Urville said to him with a smile, "Don't acquire the habit, you will not often find Princes to offer you the ladder ropes."

"I have nothing to do here," said the King, "I may as well make myself useful."

While waiting for the steam boat, Charles X. sat down on a wicker hamper on deck; his grandson mounted on his shoulders, and his little granddaughter placed herself on his knee; in this caressing attitude they patted his venerable cheek, while he let them do what they pleased, and seemed to enjoy these innocent proofs of their affection; but amidst the smiles which they created, recollection would bring an occasional tear to his eye, which was privately brushed away with the back of his hand, to avoid observation.

Previous to his departure, the King distributed 500 francs to the crew of the Great

Britain, and 250 to that of the Charles Carroll.

At half past eight the English steam boat made its appearance, and the Royal Family went on board; the tackling ropes were then loosed, the paddles were set in motion, and the speed gradually encreasing, the vessel ploughed her way through the waters, till after a time nothing could be distinguished, but a confused mass, surmounted by a tall black tube, which vomitted clouds of smoke, the eternal emblem of all human grandeur.

Charles X. was gone to land at Weymouth, and demand of England an asylum at Holy Rood House, in return for the Palace of St. Germain, which his ancestor had lent to James II.

M. d' Urville having now accomplished his painful mission, set sail for France, and arrived at Cherbourg on the following day. He lost no time in proceeding to Paris, where the government paid him a sum of 575 francs, being the exact amount of his disbursements during the journey. The only recompense which he asked, was, that a few of his companions on the Astrolabe might receive the cross of the Legion of Honour, which they had well deserved and long solicited. As this

request was not conceded, he returned to his studies, and quietly resumed the publication of his voyage to New Zealand and the Pacific Ocean.

While Charles X. was wafted in safety to the English coast, four of his ministers who signed the ordinances of July 25th, were already arrested. M. de Polignac at Granville, M. M. de Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and de Guernon Ranville at Tours. M. M. de Montbel, d' Haussez, and Capelle alone contrived to escape by different routes, and under different disguises.

When M. de Polignac was at St. Cloud, on the 29th after the evacuation of Paris by the army under Marmont, instead of going to join the Princess, who was approaching the period of her lying in, and taking measures for their flight together, he sent a confidential person to Millemont with directions to conduct her to St. Cloud, which in fact was only exposing her to unnecessary danger. A further imprudence was committed by the individual who undertook this charge, when he obtained the assistance of four gendarmes as an escort, which drew the public attention to the carriage

of Madame de Polignac. The result was that she was recognised in passing through Versailles, and if it had not been for the interference of an officer of the national guard very serious consequences might have ensued. This officer took the Princess under his protection, and having succeeded in calming the effervescence of the mob, by saying that the authorities of the town would keep a strict watch over her person, he offered from motives of humanity to conduct her to St. Cloud himself. He dismissed the gendarmes, disguised her in the garb of a peasant, and conveyed her thither in his own cabriolet. She arrived at St. Cloud on Friday the 30th, where she found all in confusion. A person who was at that time quite unknown to M. de Polignac, made him an offer of money, and a retreat where he might remain in concealment. The money was declined, but the other proposal was accepted for the Princess, while her husband took the road to Normandy, meaning to cross the channel and escape to England. Here he met with another generous individual well known in that part of the country, who proposed to secure his retreat to a sea port, in company with M. d' Haussez, who in fact escaped through his assistance, but the evil

genius of the Prince induced him to reject this second offer. After passing five or six days under the roof of M. de Semalli, well known for his royalist opinions, his presence began to excite suspicion in the neighbourhood, and he sought refuge at the house of Madame Lepelletier de St. Fargeau. As that lady was frequently in the habit of embarking at Granville for the Isle of Wight, where she possessed some property, and as Granville was only a small fishing town where there was little risk of M. de Polignac being personally known, Madame de St. Fargeau made him pass for her servant, and using the diligence for their conveyance, alighted with him at the inn, which she always frequented on these occasions. Unfortunately the zeal and anxiety of M. de Semalli prompted him to go likewise to Granville, that he might render every possible aid and service to Prince Polignac. While the three travellers were proceeding towards the inn, a carter who knew M. de Semalli, who had also seen the Prince at his country house, and had imbibed the general suspicions about him, seeing them now both together at a sea-port, conceived the idea at once that the stranger might probably be M. de Polignac. He consequently gave informa-

tion to the Municipal Committee of the place, Madame de St. Fargeau and her servant were taken up and examined; their contradictory replies encreased the suspicion, till at length the identity of the Prince was fully ascertained by his own confession, and he was handed over to the prison at St. Lo. During the transfer from Granville to St. Lo, the police had the greatest difficulty to protect him from the fury of the peasantry, who loudly accused him in the most unfounded manner, of having hired the incendiaries to burn their property, and wished to massacre him on the spot. It so happened that the Commissioners, then on their road from Cherbourg to Paris after taking leave of Charles X. arrived about the same time at St. Lo. M. de Polignac requested to see them, and they immediately visited him in his prison. They expressed their regret as much on their own account as on his that he should have allowed himself to be arrested, and have placed them in such a disagreeable predicament. As he appeared anxious to have a more private communication with the Marshal, the other two from motives of delicacy retired to a little distance, when the Prince said, "My good friend, why have they arrested me? What have I done? What

can they want with me? I have no wish ever to meddle with politics again. All I ask is, the liberty to retire into the country, and live like a private individual for the future. Procure my enlargement from this place. I have urgent business at Millemont which requires my presence."

"I have not the power," said the Marshal, "nor have these gentlemen any more than me. In fact you are much safer here than in the streets of St. Lo."

M. de Polignac then approaching the other Commissioners, said to M. de Schonen, "Why have you always avoided me? My salons were a sort of neutral ground, where we might have come to an understanding; I might perhaps have convinced you, or you might have brought me over to your opinions." Then addressing all, he added, "I have just seen in the Moniteur, that a proposal has been made in the Chamber of Deputies, to lay an indictment against me for all manner of crimes; for the elections, the dissolution of the Chambers, conspiracies against the State, excitement to civil war, and a thousand other allegations. What can all this mean?"

"As you are not versed in law," replied M. Odillon Barrot, "you are probably not

aware, that in all judicial causes, there exists the principal head of accusation, and the secondary or dependant circumstances; both are taken into consideration, and lead to the final result. In your case there are perhaps secondary imputations which you will be able to repel, but the head and front of your offending is this:—you have employed the public force, and shed innocent blood, not to support but to violate the laws of the country, and the fundamental institutions of the kingdom; I do not pretend to conceal the truth from you, this is a capital crime."

M. de Polignac at these words turned pale, he seemed like one just awoke from sleep on the brink of a precipice, "But," said he, "I only obeyed, it was not me who suggested these ordinances."

"That is possible and even probable, but still you are responsible. The constitution respects the inviolability of the person of the King, and visits the consequences on the Ministers.* Your actual imprisonment now is not a punishment, it is simply an

* These words came with a very bad grace from M. Odillon Barrot, who had just taken so active a part in making King Charles X. responsible for his own ordinances.

act of precaution, you will be tried, and every means of defence will be placed at your disposal. One source of hope is always in store for you. The mildness of our manners and the increase of civilization in the present day have raised a general wish for the abolition of capital punishments, and I have reason to think that a motion to that effect, made in the last session by M. de Tracy, will be formally brought forward again before the Chamber. M. de Lafayette will give it every support, and we all must hope that it will be carried."

"I trust that you will use your influence with your friends to secure its adoption."

"Without a doubt, but in the mean time, I exhort you to neglect no means of preparing your defence, and to select a counsel."

"Whom can I choose? point me out a good lawyer."

"There are several of great talent, who agree with you in political opinions, M. Benyer, M. Hennequin."

"No, I will not employ them for that very particular reason; but you yourself M. Odillon Barrot, would you not undertake my cause?"

"I would with the greatest readiness, but the Moniteur has just announced my appointment as Prefect of the Seine; I have not made

up my mind whether I will accept it, but if I do, the thing will be impossible."

Thus ended this interview.

As the Commissioners passed through Bayeux, the mob stopped their carriage on suspicion that they were secretly carrying off M. de Polignac to facilitate his escape. A woman in the crowd said, "If we had found him we would have strangled him."

Some days after the departure of the Commissioners, M. de Polignac was conveyed to Paris during the night under a disguise, with a passport stating that he was the bearer of a special message from the municipality of St. Lo to the government. He was carried strait to the prison at Vincennes, where he found the three other ministers, who had been brought there on the same day.

An ordinance of the 11th of August had decreed the immediate disbanding of the gardes du corps, and the inspection of this service was entrusted to General Gressot and M. Weyler de Navas at St. Lo.

The following order of the day was issued by the Commissioners previous to the separation :—

"The Commissioners appointed to accompany the King, Charles X., and his family to Cherbourg, feel anxious at this moment when their mission is terminated, to render every justice to the loyalty and honourable conduct of the gardes du corps, under the late trying circumstances.

"Called upon to fulfil the last duty of honour and fidelity to their sovereign, they have rigidly performed that duty, without failing in their respect to the established government.

"The Commissioners feel a lively satisfaction in declaring that they are mainly indebted to the propriety and discretion manifested by the gardes du corps on this occasion, for the fortunate termination of a mission, in which the honour of France was so deeply interested.

"Done at St. Lo, August 18th, 1830.

(Signed,) "THE MARSHAL MARQUIS DE MAISON,
"DE SCHONEN,
"ODILLON BARROT."

END OF VOL. I.

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